HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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New High in 'Hate' Literature

'The Death of a President' Is Very Bad History

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

With the first installment of William Manchester's *The Death of a President* finally appearing in *Look*, it is easy to understand why Bobby and Jacqueline Kennedy had some second thoughts about allowing it to be published. That it invaded her privacy may have been Mrs. John F. Kennedy's official reason for attempting to suppress the book and its serialization. But what was written by the man she and Bobby selected may plague every Kennedy running for office for years to come.

The "lack of taste" implicit in retailing facts about the personal relationship between Jackie and John Kennedy is the least of the book's offenses. For where some had hopefully expected Mr. Manchester to deal in balanced and retrospective terms of a tragic day in American history, the author used this story as the vehicle for a political diatribe against everyone to the right of center.

In the course of his account, as seen in the first *Look* installment, Mr. Manchester picks at old wounds and does his utmost to inflame old hatreds. Like some of the Kennedy underground, he is still attempting to find a way to blame conservatives for a murder committed by a man who had renounced his country in favor of the Soviet Union and described himself as a "Marxist" in a debate defending Fidel Castro and Communist Cuba.

Manchester's retelling of past political history leaves much to be desired, but it is interesting that he refers to Jeffersonian Democrats as "rightist." He says Sen. Yarborough felt that Lyndon B. Johnson and Texas Gov. Connally were as "black as a Republican heart."

He quotes President Kennedy as saying to Jackie, "There are going to be all those rich Republican women at that lunch, wearing mink coats and diamond bracelets. Be simple—show those Texans what good taste is"—as if the wealth in this predominantly Democratic state were all in the hands of the Republicans, and all of them were boors.

Author William Manchester called the recent settlement with Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy "a resolution of misunderstandings."

But the book's real hatred is aimed at Gov. Connally and Texas. Unless the Lone Star State goes wildly left in the next years—and Connally loses his political power—Bobby Kennedy can write both off when he makes his play for the presidential nomination and/or the presidency.

Manchester writes of the "disease of the spirit" that was prevalent in Dallas, and adds: "Texas led the United States in homicide." He sees Texan opposition to Kennedy based not on politics but because he "paused to think" and used "starchy New England vowels" which offended "tribal instincts."

The treatment of Connally is scandalous, the kind of pure smear that leftist butcher-paper magazines like the *New Masses* delighted in years ago.

"The governor," Mr. Manchester writes, "was a classic example of the poor boy who has risen above his origins and despises them. Connally had acquired suavity and guile. . . . Indigence itself was John Connally's enemy." In the period before the Kennedy trip to Texas, Connally "had been busy spinning his intricate web."

Among the strands of that web, according to the book, was the choice of the Trade Mart in Dallas for the luncheon honoring the President. Had another location been chosen, the book states, "the [Kennedy] motorcade would not have passed beneath the Texas School Book Depository." It was in this building that Lee Harvey Oswald prepared his ambush and fired the shots that killed Mr. Kennedy, as well as wounding Connally.

In paragraph after paragraph, William Manchester's hatred, drawn from the tapes and the notebooks on which his book is based, bubbles below the surface. It is a sad and terrible thing to observe.

What will the casual reader make of it? If he accepts as truth what the book says, he may well be stirred to an inner violence that can only be destructive in these troubled times. If his memory is long, he will wonder why the thoughts and accusations it makes were delivered by the Kennedys to an author of such uncertain temperament.

The Death of a President will destroy reputations and hurt innocent bystanders. It will encourage extremism at both ends of the political spectrum. And among fair-minded people, it will live to plague Bobby Kennedy.

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Gen. Curtis LeMay:

'How to Win in Viet Nam'

Page 8

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Special Feature

Ronald Reagan's Inaugural Address

'The Path We Chart Is Not An Easy One'

Page 12

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

James L. Wick (1897-1964)

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CONTENTS

Illusory Peace Hopes Are Not New to World—By Gen. Thomas A. Lane 5

Bertrand Russell Once Wanted to Drop Atom Bombs on Moscow—By John Chamberlain 6

Honda's Success Shows What Capitalism Can Do—By Barry Goldwater 6

Russians Sound Out U.S. on New Wheat Purchases—From the Allen-Scott Report 7

How We Can Win in Viet Nam—An interview with Gen. Curtis E. LeMay 8

But Adam, Dreyfus Was Innocent—By Morrie Ryskind 11

Long's Attack On Drug Industry—By Holmes Alexander 11

"The Path We Chart Is Not An Easy One"—By Gov. Ronald Reagan 12

Romney Gives Conflicting Views On Viet Nam—By Ted Lewis 14

No Need for a Tax Rise—By Henry Hazlitt 14

Labor's Plans for Congress: More of the Same—By Ralph de Toledano 15

India's Problem: Government By Philosophers—By Jenkin Lloyd Jones 15

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Gov. **Ronald Reagan** of California is reportedly on the verge of announcing he'll run as the Golden State's "favorite son" candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. (See page 12 for the text of Reagan's stirring inaugural address.)

● A former aide to Nelson Rockefeller and John Lindsay is setting up his own firm to help elect liberal Republicans to office. John D. Deardourff, who served as "research director" for Lindsay and Rockefeller, will shortly open **Campaign Consultants, Inc.**, in partnership with Douglas Bailey and David Goldberg. Bailey is a former Rockefeller speechwriter now serving as a chief aide to the "Wednesday Club," a group of liberal GOP congressmen. Goldberg directed Henry Cabot Lodge's campaign in the 1964 New Hampshire GOP presidential primary.

● Freshman Rep. **Donald E. (Buz) Lukens**, a Goldwater Republican from Ohio, says he was able to win a tough primary fight and then triumph in the general election by following the campaign strategy laid down in Stephen Shadegg's book, "How to Win An Election." Lukens says he had his people read the book from cover to cover several times over. Shadegg was Goldwater's campaign manager during the Arizonan's successful senatorial campaigns of 1952 and 1958.

● United Auto Workers President **Walter Reuther** has reportedly abandoned his burning ambition to succeed George Meany as head of the giant AFL-CIO. Reuther has counted noses and realizes he cannot command the support of Big Labor chieftains. Instead, he is backing Jack Thomas Conway, president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, as Meany's successor. Conway is a former Kennedy Administration official and, like Reuther, opposed to Meany's hard-line anti-communism. Conway is considering a challenge to Meany at the AFL-CIO convention next fall.

● Gov. George Romney is fond of alibiing that for him to have supported Goldwater in 1964 would have been disastrous for the Republicans in Michigan. But Sen. **Mark Hatfield** of Oregon, a liberal Republican who as governor did support Goldwater in 1964, points out that "we were the only state out of the 50 that in 1964 took a house of the legislature away from the Democrats . . . and I believe this is partially due to the fact that we had united Republican support for the ticket in Oregon."

● Some politicos are saying that **Adam Clayton Powell,** temporarily suspended from Congress, is not dead yet, and could still wind up representing his Harlem constituents with a seat on the House Education and Labor Committee. A place, in fact, has been left open for him on his old committee, pending an investigation of his record by a special House panel. The chairman of the special committee doing the investigating, moreover, is Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), who originally supported a House resolution favoring the seating of Powell.

● Columnist William S. White is sharply critical of William Manchester's **Death of a President**, terming the highly touted volume an "incomparably savage exercise . . . in the sort of yellow journalism that was a great social problem 50 years ago." Commenting on Manchester's thesis that Dallas was a city seething with "presidential hate," White says: "There is nothing new in this. Though the assassin of President Kennedy, Lee Oswald, was neither a Texan nor a right-winger but a Marxist indoctrinated in Moscow and Castro Cuba, the more extreme among the Kennedy cultists have long sought to embed it in folklore that some ultra-conservative 'climate' in Dallas anyhow was responsible for this ghastly tragedy."

● Former Rep. **Howard (Bo) Callaway** (R.-Ga.) has been named chairman of trustees of the Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pa. He succeeds former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who remains as honorary chairman. Callaway, first Republican since Reconstruction to represent Georgia in Congress, resigned his seat to run for the Peach State governorship last fall. Although he received the largest number of votes, Callaway lacked an absolute majority and was denied the governorship by the overwhelmingly Democratic state legislature, which chose Lester Maddox. In accepting the Freedoms Foundation post, Callaway said: "I humbly accept this task. Patriotism in our nation has always been and always must be above partisanship."

● A veteran Viet Nam observer, just returned from that part of the world, says that Gen. **William Westmoreland** is not at all satisfied with the restrictions put on his soldiers in fighting the war. According to this informant, Westmoreland favors stepping up the action, including cutting off supplies that are going to the North Vietnamese through the port of Haiphong and are maintaining the enemy's will to resist.

● Ambassador **Henry Cabot Lodge,** says this same observer, has changed his mind from 1963 when he favored the Buddhist revolutionaries against the late Viet Nam President Ngo Dinh Diem. Lodge is now reported to feel that he was "taken" by his State Department advisers, particularly W. Averell Harriman and Roger Hilsman.

● When reporter David Broder recently asked Sen. **Charles Percy** (R.-Ill.) if he thinks "it is possible to do as the President suggested and expand trade with the Communist bloc countries, even under the circumstances that we face in Viet Nam?", Percy responded: "I was pleased that the President did . . . make a major point of it in his State of the Union message."

● Insiders say LBJ was happy to see **John T. Connor** resign as secretary of commerce because Connor worked to soften the Administration's "truth-in-packaging" legislation and regarded much of the government's regional economic development effort as wasteful.

● Leftists continue to gang up against the way in which the United States is waging war in Viet Nam. First it was the New York Times' Harrison Salisbury, who wrote dispatches from Hanoi giving the impression that the United States was deliberately bombing civilian population centers. Now **Bill Baggs**, editor of the Miami News, is continuing to foster that image in his reports from Hanoi. Baggs, it is noted, went to Hanoi as a "director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions," the left-wing "think tank" operating in southern California.

● The prosecution has rested its case in the **Bobby Baker** trial after parading 60 witnesses for eight days before a jury in the U.S. District Court in Washington. The government is trying to prove that LBJ's protege was a wheeler-dealer businessman who committed tax evasion, larceny and fraud.

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Dirksen, Ford Rap LBJ

Conservatives in the Capitol were generally impressed with the "fighting" Republican "State of the Union" address the party leaders delivered last week in reply to President Johnson, but the GOP faced a number of obstacles in attempting to get its message out to the people. For one thing, Rep. Gerald R. Ford, the Republican House leader, tended toward a somewhat dull and plodding delivery. More important, however, was the refusal of any television network to carry the speeches of Ford and Sen. Everett Dirksen live or during the evening's prime time hours. Thus, much of the import of what these GOP leaders had to say was lost on the American voter.

The Dirksen-Ford speeches nevertheless did put the country on notice that the Republicans in Congress would work to defeat or drastically alter a major portion of President Johnson's foreign and domestic program.

Aside from opposing LBJ's tax hike and calling for a total revamping of the anti-poverty program, Rep. Ford called for repeal of much "Great Society" legislation. Billions of dollars approved by Congress in the past, said Ford, remain unspent. "This Congress must take a hard look at those funds. We propose a recision bill, withdrawing the President's authority to obligate and spend such funds that cannot meet the test of prudence of the new Congress." Ford also requested immediate repeal of the Participation Sales Act, "which conceals and distorts the true budgetary situation."

In a positive vein, the House leader called for returning tax moneys to the states "without federal control"—especially in education—and said the Republicans would again propose tax credits so parents could ease the financial burden of sending their children to school.

Overall, Ford said the Republicans would press for fiscal economy, governmental reorganization, tougher law enforcement and new alternatives and proposals that stress the role of private enterprise and a reduction in federal controls.

On Viet Nam and other foreign policy matters, Sen. Dirksen was sharply critical of President Johnson's attempts to appease the Communists. He asked rhetorically:

"Have self-inspired fears of Soviet or Red China intervention dissuaded us from a more vigorous effort on land, sea and in the air to bring this conflict to

Rep. Gerald R. Ford, GOP House Leader and Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen have come out fighting against the excesses of President Johnson's "Great Society."

an end, including stern measures to stop the inflow of supplies, food and weapons from supposedly neutral nations?

"Let us make plain to the world that we mean business! . . .

"We in the loyal opposition, with a primary accent on 'loyal,' while supporting to the fullest our fighting forces in Viet Nam ask—in fact, demand—that this Administration not only reinforce its determination to bring this conflict to an end in the shortest possible time, but that it also look beyond the bombing and other violence of the conflict to where we shall stand and with whom we shall sit when the conflict ceases."

Dirksen then cautioned Johnson on bringing parties other than the "duly constituted government" in Hanoi to the negotiating table. "To do so," he warned, "might mean that any agreements reached would disintegrate overnight and no line of defense would any longer exist from Saigon to Singapore if such a peace table surrender should occur."

Dirksen, according to observers, was taking a clear shot at LBJ's proposals to bring the Viet Cong to the bargaining table.

The Illinois senator also raked Johnson over the coals for proposing to expand trade with Communist countries. "What justification can be cited for the Administration's persistent effort to liberalize and extend terms tantamount to aid to the Soviet Union and Communist governments of Eastern Europe, while these nations are supplying most of the guns and missiles that are killing American soldiers and shooting down American planes in Southeast Asia?

"The answer to all of this is a clear one: More attention to the conservation of our own strength and resources and less to those nations of the world who regard us as an amiable, vulnerable, jolly Santa

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Claus who can be slurred at will and cuffed with impunity. The international bank of good will shows a mounting deficit where our external relations are concerned."

Though the television networks tried to bury the message, Dirksen and Ford have clearly put President Johnson on his guard.

Aid to Soviet Spies?

The Johnson Administration is apparently determined to press ahead with Senate ratification of the consular convention signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in Moscow on June 1, 1964. This week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to hear Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Under Secretary Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and Deputy Under Secretary of State Foy D. Kohler testify in its favor.

Soviet experts, however, say its ratification would be disastrous to United States interests. The treaty is designed to encourage the establishment of Soviet consulates in this country. But J. Edgar Hoover has said the convention, by opening the door to Soviet consulates in the United States, would permit the Soviet intelligence services to achieve a "cherished goal."

In a statement denouncing Senate ratification of the treaty, Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) has said: "The record of Soviet diplomatic espionage is so massive and consistent that I think it can properly be taken for granted that every Soviet diplomat and diplomatic employe must be considered a member of the Soviet espionage apparatus and a recruiter for this apparatus."

In August 1965 Senators Frank Lausche, Bourke Hickenlooper, John Williams and Karl Mundt—all members of the Foreign Relations Committee—issued a minority report, ripping apart the convention.

"Our concern," they stressed, "relates principally to the provisions in the convention under which consular offices and employes of the sending state are given immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state. This convention is the first to which the United States has been a party which provides for unlimited exemption from criminal jurisdiction for consular personnel. Previous consular conventions have provided for immunity from criminal jurisdiction for consular personnel with respect only to misdemeanors, but not for felonies.

"We believe that if the provisions regarding immunity had not been included in the convention, the Soviet Union would not have agreed to it and that, in fact, these provisions were a principal Soviet objective. . . .

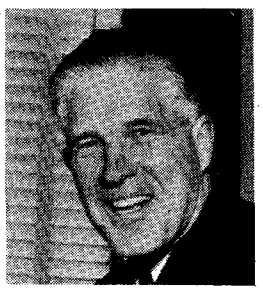
"In any case, we believe that the extension of immunity to include felonies would open the way to espionage and other forms of subversion on the part of Soviet consular personnel. If this convention is ratified, and if the Soviet Union then establishes a consulate or consulates in the United States, the officers and employes of these consulates would be able to engage in espionage and subversion, knowing that they will not be liable to prosecution but only to expulsion."

These lawmakers, noting J. Edgar Hoover's statement that Soviet diplomatic personnel engage extensively in espionage, also stressed that there is another grave aspect to these immunity provisions. If the treaty is ratified, they declared, this would set off a chain reaction. "The provisions regarding immunity will then apply not only to Soviet consular personnel, but may also apply to consular personnel of the 27 other countries with which the United States has consular conventions or agreements which contain a most-favored nation clause."

Nevertheless, LBJ is making ratification of this treaty a top priority goal. Last year treaty ratification was stalled because conservative constituents let their views be known. *Human Events* readers should once again write their senators to oppose treaty adoption.

Romney-Lodge Confab

Reports in the press last week indicated that the Washington meeting between Gov. George Romney and Republican Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge involved only a discussion between the two on the war in South Viet Nam and Lodge's personal assessment of the situation. Information forwarded to *Human Events,* however, suggests the discussions between the two went far beyond Viet Nam and actually involved Romney's certain bid for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968.



ROMNEY

As an on-the-spot observer reports, Romney and Lodge visited the 1729 H Street, N.W., Washington offices of Robert R. Mullen, a public relations expert and manager of Lodge's abortive campaign in 1964.

At their discussions, Mullen was reportedly offered the job of heading the Romney drive for 1968; Mullen's alleged response was that he would take on the task if he could be assured that he would also head any Romney campaign which might take place in 1972, believing as he supposedly does that the chances are slim anyone can whip LBJ in '68.

According to our informant, Romney left without making any commitment, but pledged to think the matter over thoroughly.

When *Human Events* contacted Mullen's offices for confirmation or denial his secretary said Mullen was out of town but that she would ask him to comment on his reported dealings with Romney. The next day Mullen's secretary said she had talked with her boss but that he had "no comment at this time" about the matter.

Ex-Kennedy Aide Convicted

A Tucson jury last week rejected a plea of "innocence by association" and convicted a close political associate of Robert Kennedy on 11 counts of grand theft.

J. Carlos McCormick, who played a key role in the 1960 presidential campaign, was found guilty of misappropriating more than $100,000 from an insurance firm he headed in 1962 and 1963.

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McCormick's defense attorney, Lawrence D'Antonio, invoked the Kennedy name in a desperate attempt to sway the jury. He asked the six-man, six-woman panel if it was aware that convicting McCormick would mean that Bobby and the late President Kennedy had a thief working for them.

"If you associate with good people, you will be good," D'Antonio argued. "If you associate with bad people, you can't help but be bad. How can a person of McCormick's quality—who associated with the Kennedys—be a criminal?"

The jury found McCormick guilty as charged on each of the 11 counts.

McCormick was a member of the Kennedy for President staff in 1960, assigned the task of setting up Viva Kennedy groups among Mexican-American voters in 32 states. He later served as an assistant to Democratic National Chairman John Bailey and was rewarded for his political services with an appointment as special assistant in the State Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. After he left the State Department, McCormick went to work as a consultant to VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), the "domestic peace corps."

Red Trade

In calling for a revival of the House Select Committee on Export Control (H. Res. 67) to slow down trade with Communist countries, Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.) has charged President Johnson and the Department of Commerce with misleading the American people.

In October of 1966, says Lipscomb, the Administration told the nation that it had consulted the intelligence community before removing hundreds of commodities from a list of items requiring specific validated licenses before they could be shipped to Communist countries. In publishing the list of removed items, the Department of Commerce flatly asserted that it had " . . . consulted with other interested departments, including Defense, State, Agriculture, Interior and the intelligence community, in taking this step."

LIPSCOMB

Finding it difficult to believe that the intelligence community had really approved the removal of the items, Lipscomb sent a letter requesting each of the chiefs of military intelligence organizations to describe whether the Department of Commerce had consulted with his organization and to describe such consultations.

"Each of the replies," noted Lipscomb, who inserted their contents into the *Congressional Record*, "states that the Administration did *not* consult with our military intelligence experts."

The Californian quoted the director of naval intelligence as saying: "The Office of Naval Intelligence, definitely a member of the 'intelligence community,' had no part in the consultations which preceded the revision of the Commodity Control List."

The Air Force told Lipscomb: "No intelligence office of the U.S. Air Force participated in the revision of the Current Commodity Control List."

The Army said the assistant chief of staff for intelligence "was not consulted regarding the commodities listed."

And, finally, the Department of Defense says that the Defense Intelligence Agency "was not requested to supply intelligence on the 400 commodities that are covered in the Current Export Control Bulletin, Number 941."

• Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is under constant pressure from the Johnson Administration to have his committee report out favorably LBJ's plans to expand East-West trade. Mills has killed such plans previously, but the pressures on him are building up. With liberal Jack Gilbert (D.-N.Y.) edging out the more conservative Omar Burleson (D.-Tex.) for a place on Ways and Means last week, Mills may have trouble keeping his committee in line.

There are also reports, as yet unverified, that the Soviet Union is letting it be known through diplomatic channels that it may treat its Arkansas prisoner, Buel R. Wortham Jr., as a sort of hostage. Wortham, a 25-year-old former Army officer from North Little Rock, Ark., part of Mills' district, was arrested by the Soviets on charges of violating currency regulations and stealing a small iron sculpture of a bear. He was recently freed on $22,222 bail pending the appeal of his case to the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation. If Mills comes through with a bill promoting Red-trade expansion, it is said, the Soviets will let Wortham off lightly.

Rocky Forms Strange Alliance

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's influence in the Republican party may be considerably weakened by the amazing arrangement set up between the Rockefeller family and the Eaton family to try to promote trade with Communist countries.

It was revealed last week, for example, that the International Basic Economy Corp., controlled by the Rockefeller brothers and organized in 1947 under the principal direction of Nelson, and Tower International, Inc., headed by Cyrus S. Eaton Jr., son of Cleveland financier and Soviet-apologist Cyrus Eaton, plan to cooperate in pushing Western trade deals with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The IBEC was organized as an investment company specializing in enterprises in underdeveloped nations. The company already has interests in 29 foreign countries, but none in the Communist bloc.

Tower International is a wholly owned subsidiary of Tower Industries, a partnership Eaton Jr. created in Cleveland in 1964 with his brother-in-law, Dr. Fay A. LeFevre, and other Cleveland associates.

The joint effort contemplated by IBEC and Tower will combine the investment skills and resources of the Rockefellers with the special entree to Soviet-bloc officialdom that Tower enjoys, largely as a result of contacts cultivated over the last 15 years by Cyrus Eaton Sr., a 1960 winner of the Lenin Peace Prize.

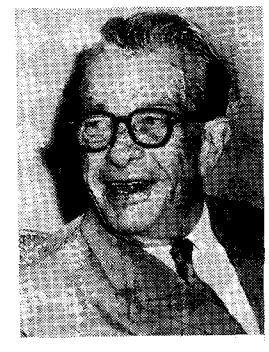
In a recent interview Eaton Jr. said the arrangement between IBEC and Tower is "headed toward a 50-50 partnership." From now on, said Eaton, Tower would offer IBEC a 50 per cent interest in any deal it undertook.

The younger Eaton said his organization had "firm inquiries" from five Eastern European countries, including the Soviet Union, for the construction of 10 rubber-good plants, two of which will handle synthetics.

Various politicians in Washington are already commenting that the alliance with Eaton is bound to hurt Rocky in the Republican party. The entire Eaton family is known for its general friendliness toward the Soviet Union. Before the National Press Club in Washington, Cyrus Eaton Sr. supported the Soviet Union's conduct in suppressing the Boris Pasternak novel, *Dr. Zhivago*, and in stamping out the Hungarian rebellion ("That was like sending [American] troops to Lebanon," he blithely said). Easton Sr.'s wife, Anne, has been intimately involved with the "peace movement" and sent an anniversary message in 1965 to the Soviets in honor of the Russian revolution. Eaton Jr. has not been so outspoken, but he has been avidly promoting trade with Communist countries.

New R-T-W Drive

Unknown to the general public is the fact that Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), the GOP's Senate leader, has promised the National Right to Work Committee he will support four labor bills which the committee hopes to see pass during the 90th Congress. These four measures would go a long way toward reducing Big Labor's mammoth powers over the nation's economy and the individual workers.



DIRKSEN

The four bills would:

• Take federal income tax exemption away from any labor or agricultural organization that enforces compulsory membership or compulsory payment of dues or fees on any worker.

• Revise Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act to make compulsory unionism illegal everywhere except in states that specifically authorize it by state law. (Now compulsory unionism is legal except in states that forbid it by law.)

• Would amend the Railway Labor Act, restoring to workers in the railroad and airlines industries the right to refuse joining a union in order to work.

• Would stipulate that unions be permitted to bargain collectively only for their own members.

With the new 90th Congress far more conservative than the old 89th, and with Dirksen supporting these proposals, the National Right to Work Committee is convinced their four-part "Bill of Rights" may become law.

Scott Slugs It Out

Capitol Hill politicos are chuckling over an incident involving that very "model of moderation" in the GOP, Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.). Scott consistently presumes to lecture his more conservative Republican brethren about the dangers of wild-eyed extremists in their midst, those supposedly prone to irrational and violent methods.

An item printed in *Commentary on Liberty*, journal of the Philadelphia County chapter of Young Americans for Freedom, however, suggests that Scott, himself, is not exactly the most temperate of human beings. Edited by YAF leaders David Walter and Howard Callaway, the publication recently reported:

"Pennsylvania's second most liberal senator, Hugh Scott, showed his tolerance and moderation on election night by 'slugging' a Reagan supporter in Philadelphia.

"The incident occurred at Citizens for Shafer headquarters in center city and was witnessed by dozens of people including the editor of this publication. Mr. Richard Fingerote was in the building with a large Reagan bumper sticker in his hatband. He approached Sen. Scott and asked him why he didn't support Goldwater in 1964. Scott didn't like the question and apparently didn't like the Reagan sticker.

SCOTT

"He replied that he did back Goldwater (true, yet it is common knowledge that he encouraged ticket splitting in his favor and did nothing to try to help the Arizonan) and that Mr. Fingerote was a 'liar.' Mr. Fingerote replied in kind and U.S. Sen. Hugh Scott slapped him in the face. Scott then angrily left the building to the boos and hisses of some of those Republicans who witnessed the shocking spectacle. This is the same senator who blasted the New Jersey 'Rat Fink' conservatives for having a bad public image. *Et tu*, Hugh."

Red China Accord?

Foreign observers in Washington remain stunned by the claims of Rene Dabernat, foreign editor of the magazine *Paris-Match*, that the United States has come to a secret accord with Red China over the Viet Nam war.

In a recent *U.S. News and World Report* interview, Dabernat said:

"Last spring, a diplomat from the Red Chinese Embassy in Paris asked the Quai d'Orsay (the French Foreign Office) to let Washington know that Peking would not enter the war on three conditions:

"These were that the U.S. not invade Red China, that they not invade North Viet Nam, and that they not bomb the dikes of the Red River in North Viet Nam. France transmitted the message. I verified this in Washington. Later, President Johnson, (Secretary of State) Rusk, (Secretary of Defense) McNamara and (Ambassador) Harriman gave the necessary signals to Peking in various public speeches to show that they agreed to these conditions."

So far, the State Department's only reply has been, "No Comment."

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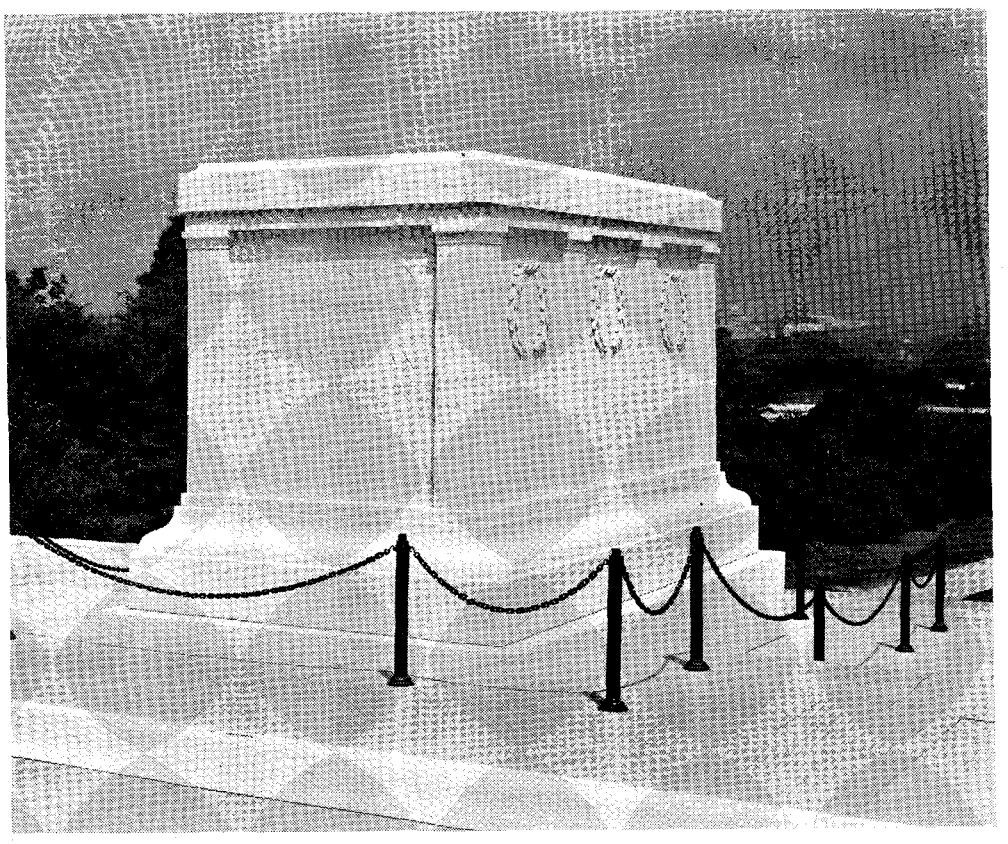

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington, Va.

Strange Hypnosis

Illusory Peace Hopes Are Not New to World

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

A thoughtful and concerned reader has given his view of our interest in peace. In doing so, he has focused light upon the basic error of our foreign policy. I summarize his position that:

- Man has, through his use of reason, risen to respect individual rights, privileges and responsibilities.

- In the United States the individual has responded to this new liberty with phenomenal accomplishment.

- The United States has extended its policy of respect for others to international relationships in an unprecedented great power posture of refraining from military conquest.

By setting the world an example of consistent non-aggression, the United States will demonstrate the benefits of peace and influence others to join in bringing to mankind the great blessing of universal peace.

These points do state the hopes of Americans, and in large measure the hopes of mankind. It is prudent, however, to realize that these were also the hopes of the dead civilizations of the past.

Why has man always failed? How can we now try again, with any hope of success, if we do not understand the failures of the past?

The hope of peace casts a strange hypnosis over man which stills his reason. Although in other matters man is capable of evaluating and changing his course in the light of experience, in the matter of peace he cannot.

Why has the heightened devotion of the United States to peace since World War II led us to fight two major wars in Korea and Viet Nam? Are these the consequence of our devotion to peace? They are.

Will you argue that our experience might have been worse if we had not set an example of devotion to peace? That response is part of the peace syndrome. It boggles reason with a premise that the alternative would have been worse, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding.

For example, we see in the Communist world that man's rights are suppressed in a new ant-hill organization of society. In this century the world trend has been toward the destruction of individual freedom. Our kind of world has been in retreat. There was more individual freedom in the world in 1900 than there is today.

Isn't it strange that Americans can, in the face of this reality, preserve an illusion that our peace policy is actually tending toward a better world? We have believed that a particular course of conduct promotes peace, and we have persisted in that belief in the face of evidence that the conduct promotes war. Because peace has so compelling an attraction for us, we refuse to recognize that peace has no attraction for conquerors.

In every conflict of the past there have been men in the peace-oriented societies who would avoid war at any cost. They masked their deception in honeyed words. They alleged that it was better to accommodate the conqueror than to risk the destruction of war. They alleged that the conqueror could be persuaded to accept the higher reason of the peaceful way. The conqueror humored their illusions and destroyed their civilizations.

The goals of my reader are not unattainable. But they are unattainable through a policy of avoiding conflict, of condoning tyranny and of sacrificing principle for superficial agreement.

Peace is in its inherent nature a product of virtue. It cannot be courted by forsaking honor and principle to avoid strife.

The 50-year retreat of freedom which the Communist world will celebrate this year is a monument to the sustained self-deception of Western political philosophy.

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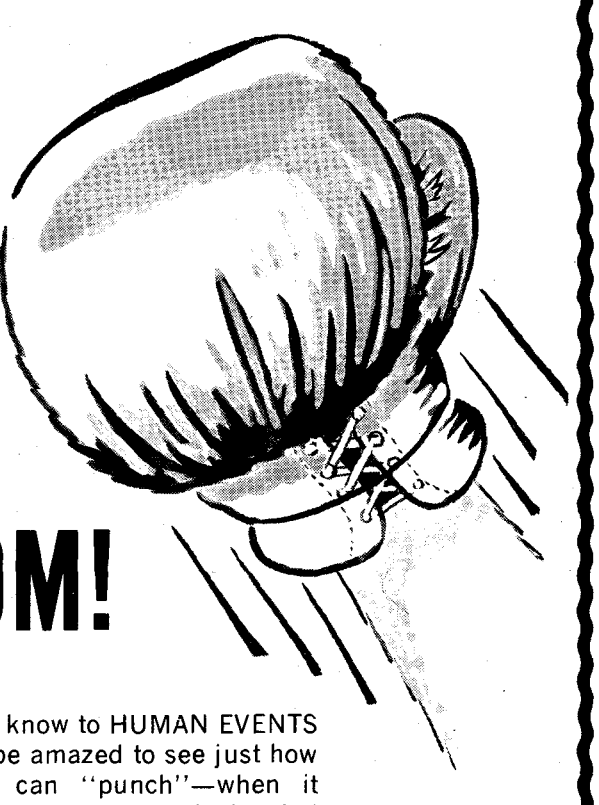

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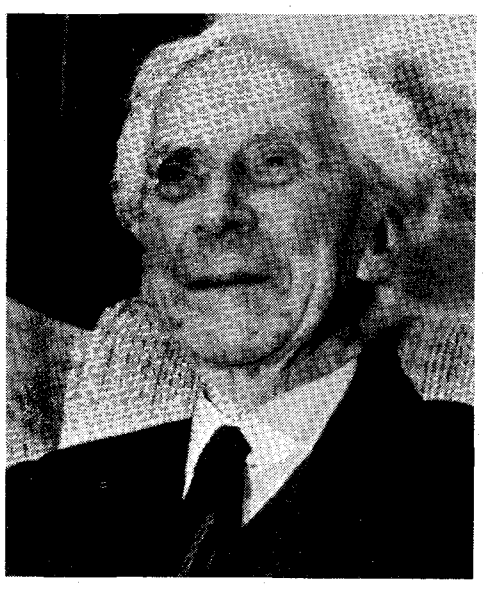

Bertrand Russell, left, now wants to "try" President Johnson for "war crimes." Among the proposed jurors are authors Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir.

Heads 'War Tribunal'

Bertrand Russell Once Wanted To Drop Atom Bombs on Moscow

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

As Sidney Hook, the philosopher, has pointed out, the tribunal that Bertrand Russell is organizing in Europe to try President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara as "war criminals" has no "moral standing in court." For in the not-so-distant past Bertrand Russell has himself justified indiscriminate bombing of a whole people.

When Soviet Russia refused to go along with the Acheson and Baruch plans for "internationalizing" the sources of nuclear energy, Lord Russell led the way in advocating a preventive atomic strike against the Kremlin. "Communism," so Russell wrote in 1948, "must be wiped out, and world government must be established."

It would be interesting to know whether Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, the French literary figures who have been chosen by Bertrand Russell to head the road-show "Nuremberg trial" of Lyndon Johnson for "war crimes," realize what Russell was saying in 1948. Since both Sartre and Beauvoir have a blind hatred for America, it probably wouldn't make any difference. But the world should know that Bertrand Russell was once an advocate of preventive atomic warfare against far more Communists than have been hit by conventional bombs in Viet Nam.

There is also another thing the world should know about Russell's past. Back in 1940 Bertrand Russell and his third wife happened to be living in the United States. Russell had been appointed a professor of philosophy at the College of the City of New York. He needed money to support himself, his wife and his young son, for he couldn't bring funds out of wartime Britain. Since nothing had been said about Russell's social views when he lectured at the University of California in Los Angeles, the New York appointment seemed safe enough.

The Episcopal bishop, William T. Manning, however, happened to have read some of Bertrand Russell's works. When the bishop complained that Russell was a "recognized propagandist against religion and morality" who "specifically defends adultery," there was an instantaneous furor. The New York City Board of Higher Education defended Russell, but a taxpayer's suit brought the case before a Tammany judge who quoted passages from Russell's books that, in his opinion, condoned sexual infidelity and thus made the appointment "an insult to the people of New York."

The case was one of the more celebrated "academic freedom" flaps of the time. American intellectuals, led by John Dewey, organized a Russell defense committee. But the Tammany judge's ruling against Russell was not appealed. Dr. Albert Barnes, the Argyrol manufacturer who ran a big art foundation in Merion, Pa., stepped in to rescue Bertrand Russell financially. He offered Russell $6,000 a year for five years to deliver a one-hour lecture each week at his foundation. Russell jumped at the opportunity.

The friendship between Barnes and Russell, however, did not last. Henry Hart, Barnes' friend and biographer, tells a wildly comic story of Dr. Barnes' efforts to come to terms with Bertrand Russell's wife, who insisted on knitting during the Russell lectures.

According to Mr. Hart, the knitting disturbed the class. "When we engaged you to teach," so Barnes wrote Bertrand Russell, "we did not obligate ourselves to endure forever the trouble-making propensities of your wife." Russell, with pardonable asperity, retorted that "so far as any personal relationship is concerned, you are mistaken in supposing that there is no quarrel with me, since whoever quarrels with my wife quarrels with me." It wasn't long before Russell was fired.

Recalling this bit of history, it is reasonable to ask whether it has anything to do with Bertrand Russell's motives for wishing the world to judge that America is a barbarous land of "war criminals."

Prof. Hook, who defended Bertrand Russell at the time of his troubles with Bishop Manning, says of his old-time philosophical colleague that "there is a good deal of evidence to show that he has become almost pathologically anti-American." When President Kennedy announced the discovery that Soviet atomic missiles had been sent to Cuba, Russell called the American heads of government "ferocious and insane murderers." This is hardly the calm objectivity that one expects from a philosopher.

Maybe certain American individuals did do Russell a wrong in the 1940s. But why should he take it out on Lyndon Johnson in 1967, especially when Johnson is fighting a far more restrained war against Communists now than Russell himself was advocating when he urged the total atomic destruction of Moscow in 1948?

(Copyright 1967, King Features Synd.)

Honda's Success Shows What Capitalism Can Do

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Tokyo—Anyone who disputes the effectiveness of capitalism as a tool for creating jobs, opportunity and progress should spend some time here. Just a few miles away are the test and research facilities of one of the world's great manufacturing concerns.

And it was started just 19 years ago by a man who left school at 16, worked as a mechanic, started business on a shoestring amid the rubble of war's end and today, at 61, works side by side with his engineers to build an already great industrial machine into an even greater one.

This remarkable man is Soichiro Honda. His name has become virtually synonomous with motorcycles, but will shortly be associated with such things as automobiles and airplanes to millions of people around the world.

At the end of the war, Honda, a first-class mechanic, took his savings and bought 500 small surplus engines. They had been used to power communications equipment. He hand-fitted them into bicycle frames and Tokyo residents, eager for any form of transportation, bought them as fast as he could bang them together.

When he ran out of surplus engines he made his own, a tiny thing with a cylinder displacement roughly equal to a small paper cup.

Last year the company that grew directly from that beginning—a company whose entire research, development and production program Honda still runs—turned out 1.37 million motorcycles, worth $265 million, roughly one-third of the world's production. Almost half of them were sold in the United States, giving this one man's industrial dream-come-true a major place in world economic impact.

Several things make the Honda story typical of capitalist success as opposed to those dreary adventures into production by Socialists. The Honda enterprise opened a market that didn't exist previously. It created new jobs and the demand for new technology, new suppliers and new distribution outlets.

Typically of capitalist enterprise, it did all of this at no expense to anyone but the risk-taker involved. It did not coerce anyone. It simply liberated talent and energy.

And also typical of capitalist enterprise, this creative effort continues. It does not stagnate in red tape, complacency or the gray mediocrity of Socialist planning. Honda is now preparing to launch another invasion of the market place with a low-cost automobile. Next he plans a low-cost, family airplane.

Successful businessman Soichiro Honda has not looked to government handouts.

This is the kind of invasion in which capitalism deals. It rejects the invasions of militarism. Had Japan some decades earlier been as openly capitalistic as it is today, rather than under the thumb of an all-powerful government, it is safe to assume that it never would have gone to war. It would not have had time for such nonsense. It would have been too busy building.

Perhaps that's the great lesson of capitalism, the sort of lesson you learn when you see enterprises such as Honda's. Capitalism is the builder. It is only government that can be a destroyer.

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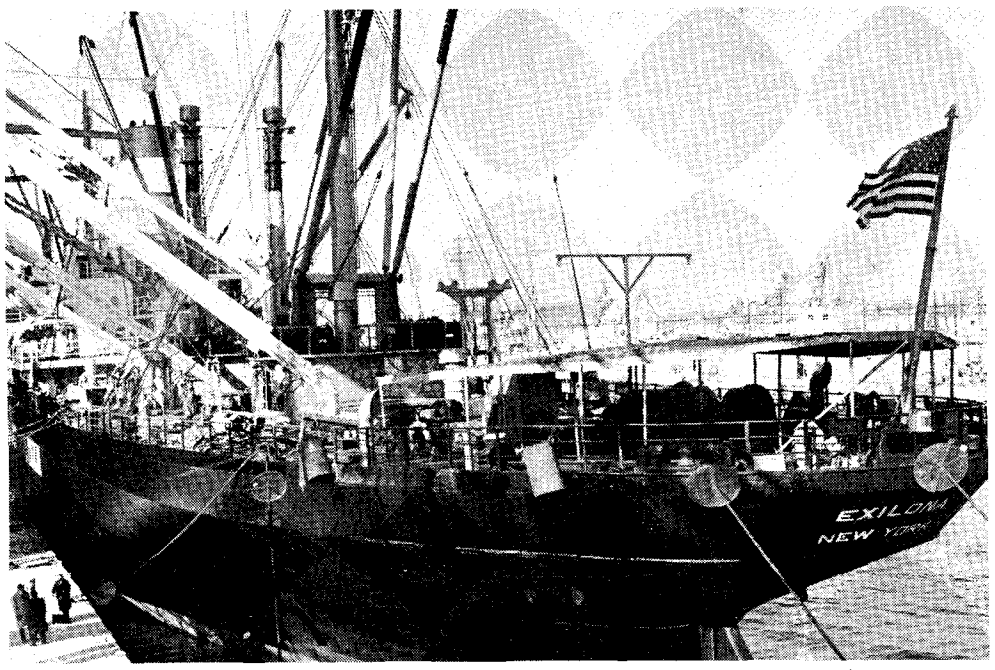


During 1964, many freighters transported wheat to the Soviet Union.

Despite Bumper Crop

Russians Sound Out U.S. On New Wheat Purchases

From the Allen-Scott Report

Russia's bumper 1966 crop notwithstanding, the Kremlin is sounding out U.S. officials on the possibility of buying several hundred million dollars worth of wheat.

On the basis of the surprising feeler, the Soviet leaders indicated interest in contracting for grain to be shipped over a period of several years. Hints are even being dropped that the proposed purchase might surpass the $400 million in wheat bought by Russia in 1963. Those U.S. sales were paid for with gold.

Under the new Soviet proposal, initial grain shipments would come from this year's crop and not from this country's dwindling reserves—now down to less than one year's supply.

U.S. authorities are frankly puzzled as to why the Russians are seeking large quantities of wheat.

There has been no indication of any kind as to what's behind it.

Possible explanations are desire to build up the Soviet's depleted strategic grain reserve, and to supply the Eastern satellites that are known to be in need of wheat.

This is what the Kremlin did with approximately 50 per cent of its huge 1963 grain purchases. That year Russia's crop was considerably smaller than its 1966 bumper yield.

Also, Soviet agricultural experts are known to favor using U.S. wheat for stockpiling, as it stores better than their own.

As usual, the Russian overture is accompanied with certain demands. In this instance they consist of two "conditions," as follows:

- Long-term credit to pay for the huge wheat stocks.
- U.S. ports to be opened to Soviet ships to transport the grain, and the purchase of other U.S. goods.

Both Republican and Democratic congressional leaders already have served notice on the White House they will vigorously resist any proposal to grant credit to Russia, or to relax trade barriers as long as that country continues as the principal weapons supplier of North Viet Nam.

Of the two issues, that of opening U.S. ports to Soviet vessels could become the fieriest.

Leaders of the powerful International Longshoremen's Association, when sounded out about such a move at an unannounced State Department conference, flatly rejected it.

The union officials bluntly warned that their rank and file would refuse to handle cargo for or from Russian vessels, and would throw up picket lines to enforce this stand. In addition, the ILA leaders declared they would seek congressional action to bar Soviet ships from the United States on security grounds.

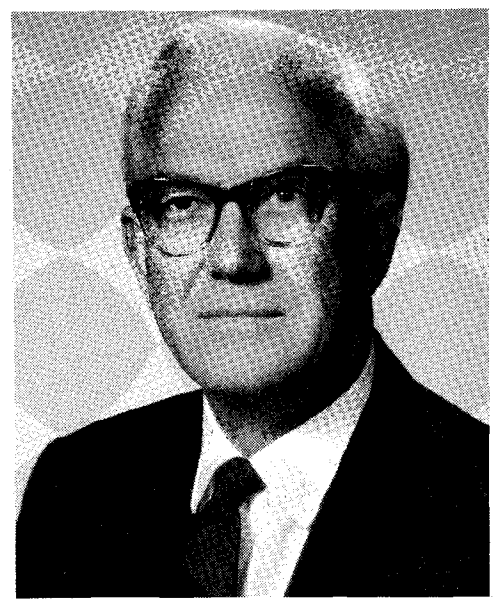
* * *

President Johnson's astonishing rudeness to a powerful House Committee chairman could foreshadow serious trouble for his defense proposals.

Two weeks before Congress convened, Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, sent a registered letter to the President asking for a conference to discuss the new military budget before it was finally decided.

Despite repeated inquiries at the White House, Rivers got no reply to his request—until the day before the new session met.

Then, as he was preparing to attend the Democratic caucus which ousted Adam Clayton Powell as chairman of the Labor and Education Committee, Rivers suddenly got a call from the President to come to the White House.



Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.) intends to quiz ranking military leaders on the need for an anti-missile system.

"Grab a cab and come on down, Mendel," said the President. "I'll give you an advance briefing on the defense budget."

"Are all the decisions final, Mr. President?" asked Rivers.

"Yes," was the reply. "Secretary McNamara and I are in agreement."

"In that case, there is no need for me to miss the Democratic caucus that is just getting under way," said Rivers. "I'll save my suggestions for when your proposals come before my committee."

That ended the conversation.

As head of the Armed Services Committee, Rivers is in a key position to exert much weight on the determination of the hotly controversial question of building an anti-missile defense system. When the military construction bill comes before his committee, Rivers intends to summon top Pentagon officials to question them on their views regarding the necessity for such defenses.

It's an open secret that the Joint Chiefs of Staff strongly favor them.

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SOME KIND OF NUT—A peasant in a Russian village went to the polls on election day and was handed a sealed envelope to drop in the ballot box. He began to tear the envelope open when a Soviet official shouted, "What do you think you're doing?" The peasant said he wanted to see for whom he was voting. "Are you crazy?" exclaimed the official. "This is a secret ballot."

LUNAR LUNACY
AND OTHER COMMENTARIES
by W. L. Crum

Professor of Economics, Emeritus
University of California

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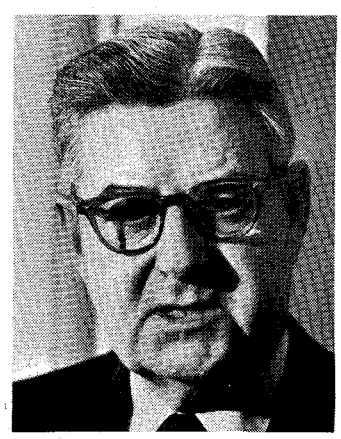
How We Can Win in Viet Nam

An exclusive interview with General Curtis E. LeMay

Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, USAF (Ret.) ranks as one of the most distinguished military men of this century. It was he, perhaps more than any other man, who pioneered the use of the strategic air power which today accounts for much of America's military strength.

Born Nov. 15, 1906, in Columbus, Ohio, Gen. LeMay enrolled in the Army ROTC program while at Ohio State University and was eventually selected for flight training in the fledgling U.S. Army Air Corps. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in January 1930. Active in establishing new navigational procedures, he was one of the first pilots to fly the now legendary B-17. When World War II broke out, LeMay helped set up the daylight bombing missions from England over Germany. When the new B-29 bombers started rolling off the assembly lines, LeMay, now a major general, was sent to the Far East to head up the 20th Bomber Command, which delivered the devastating blows against Japan climaxing in the white heat of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.



After the war LeMay became commanding general of the USAF, Europe, and directed the Berlin airlift, even flying some runs himself. In 1948 he was recalled to take over the new Strategic Air Command, a post he held until 1957 when he was appointed vice chief of staff, USAF, and made a full general.

Gen. LeMay built the SAC from virtually nothing to a massive deterrent bomber force capable of hitting any target in the world with nuclear weapons. Most observers agree that to date it has been the SAC that has kept the peace in a turbulent world. In 1961 he was named by President Kennedy as chief of staff, United States Air Force. In that office he fought valiantly for retention of the manned bomber and for the green light to go ahead with the B-70 project. When he retired in February 1965 he told President Johnson, "I leave behind the best air staff I have ever seen assembled, and the best group of commanders in the field that can be possibly procured. They are at your call, Mr. President."

The interview printed on these pages took place at the general's office at the Networks Electronic Corp. in Chatsworth, Calif.

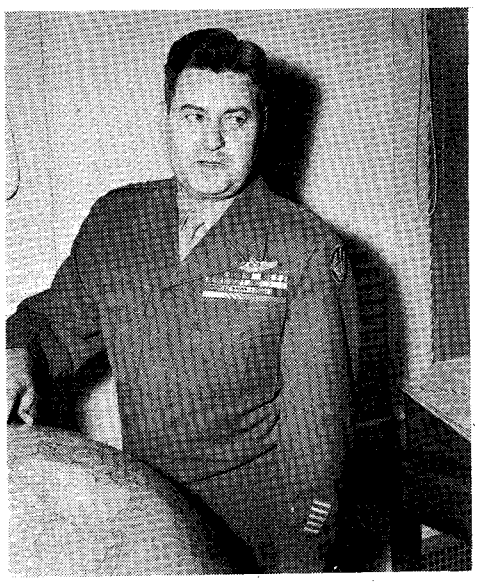
Q. General, Americans are becoming increasingly concerned about the war in Viet Nam. Over 6,000 American boys have died in this Asian country since 1961. Nearly 400,000 are fighting there now, and it is currently costing the United States nearly $2 billion a month to finance this huge undertaking. Yet victory still seems to be far off. In view of all this, do you feel the United States should continue its military commitment?

A. Yes, very definitely I feel we should continue the military commitment. I believe the free world is at war with communism. And many of our citizens haven't given this much thought or they don't understand this.

Ever since the days of Karl Marx the Communists have told us that their goal is world communism. So we don't have a choice of whether we fight or not. They are going to try to overthrow the rest of the world governments and set up a Communist world—that's their goal and they are pursuing it very vigorously. True, they pull back once in awhile when they run up against a stone wall, but they always come back and attack someplace else.

So it doesn't seem to me that we really have a choice. We have to fight communism. The present point of attack is Viet Nam. The South Vietnamese people themselves are not able to resist this aggression, and if they don't get some help from the rest of the free world, they are going to be taken over by the Communists. If this happens, then they attack someplace else. So we're going to have to stop them, or eventually it will be our turn and there will be a direct attack against this country.

It just seems to me to be that simple, and I think history will bear out this view. There have been other occasions where the Communists have attacked—Greece for instance, there was a start in Lebanon, they were pressing in Cuba and that country has been taken over. So we have to call a halt someplace. We've made our commitment to the South Vietnamese and I think we should stay there.



Gen. LeMay took over the Strategic Air Command in 1948 and immediately began to build it into an effective fighting force.

Q. You obviously believe we should be in Viet Nam, but are you satisfied that the President is pursuing the right course of action for winning? Isn't it true that we are getting bogged down in a land war in Asia—the very type of war the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur warned our leaders to avoid?

A. Well, I am not satisfied with the progress we have made in Viet Nam, and I don't think anyone else is either. As I understand it, our goal there is to get the Communists to the conference table and settle the quarrel peacefully—if we can. So far the Communists have not chosen to do this, and all our military activity there has been designed to tell them we don't intend to allow them to succeed in taking over South Viet Nam, so they had better come to the table and talk about it.

Just what we are going to talk about has been unclear to me, as I am sure it has been for other people, because it seems that we did our talking at the [1954] Geneva Conference when the French left and the country was divided into North and South Viet Nam, Laos and so forth. What are we going to talk about now? Are we going to redivide the country again to give them more of South Viet Nam?

Any talking that we do, it seems to me, will turn out to be giving more concessions. I for one am not willing to make any more concessions. It seems to me that they should live by the agreement made at the Geneva Conference and that they should allow South Viet Nam to be free as it was supposed to be.

This policy seems to me to be a failure. We have been fighting for five years over there without any indication at all that the North Vietnamese are willing to come to the conference table. So I think the time has long since passed for us to use the power we have.

Q. Since you feel that the present policy is not achieving its objective, precisely what steps would you take to end the war, were you in the President's chair?

A. I think we have to use the power we have at our disposal to defeat the North Vietnamese. And I think this should be done with air and naval power rather than getting embroiled in a sizable ground war in Asia. We should use the tools where we are strong and they are weak.

Too often in the past we have let the Communists determine where and how we are going to fight and we always set up a bunch of arbitrary rules so that we can't use the power we are capable of bringing to bear. Consequently we have a long, drawn-out war and I think the loss of life is much greater in the long run than it would be were we to use the force necessary to stop it early in the game.

I think we ought to use this force now—air and naval power—starting out with military targets and going on to industrial targets, transportation, things of that sort. This calls for a stepped-up campaign—not so much in volume above what we are doing now, however, because already we have put more volume of tonnage and explosives onto North Viet Nam than Germany used against England in the battle of Britain. But we haven't gotten much in the way of results.

True, we have hampered the movement of supplies and people into South Viet Nam, but we haven't stopped it. And I don't think we can stop it by bombing the types of targets we have been bombing in the past.

We have to go back a little bit farther to the source of supply. I would close the harbor of Haiphong and certainly prevent anything from getting into the country. There are many ways of doing this; you can blockade the harbor or mine it or destroy the harbor by bombing. And then I'd move on to their industry and other military targets and go as far as necessary to stop the aggression against the south. I'd let the North Vietnamese themselves determine how much damage they wanted to take.

Certainly we have the capability of completely destroying the country. I certainly have no desire to do this, but we do want them to stop this aggression in the south. I think we can do it.

As to how much time it will take, I don't know. No one can predict the future. I think if we applied the air and naval power that we have available to the proper targets, we could produce some results. It shouldn't take too long.

I think we should avoid as much as possible attacking the population, but on some targets you're going to get some collateral damage. We should warn the people we are going to attack these targets. We did something like this during World War II in Japan. We warned the people in industrial areas that we were going to bomb and while initially nothing happened, when they became convinced that we were going to do what we said we could do, it then became very effective and the people left these towns. And casualties were down, of course.

I think we can apply some of the same principles to a campaign against North Viet Nam and not destroy the people, but on the other hand, if you are going to destroy the targets you have to bomb where they are. This sort of a campaign could be accomplished and could produce results.

Q. Do you think the United States should declare war on North Viet Nam?

A. I believe that this is a matter for Congress and think it inappropriate for a military man to publicly comment one way or the other on this question. However, I will say that if there were a declaration of war some phases of the military action might be carried out more easily. For instance, there wouldn't be any question about the right to blockade North Viet Nam to prevent outside help from coming in.

Q. Do you think the Administration was right to reject the advice of Gen. James Gavin and others who suggested the U.S. should fight from "military enclaves" in South Viet Nam?

A. I don't know any military people who agreed with Gen. Gavin in this regard. If you're going to win a military action you have to go on the offensive. You cannot in this day and age build a fort, get inside it, and expect to win your objectives. I think you have to go out over the countryside, because you have something in addition to a military campaign in South Viet Nam. Many of the areas are isolated and by all indications they have very little contact with the central government in Saigon, and consequently not too much confidence in it. This is not surprising because they have been at war ever since the Geneva Convention and before.

I think the people in South Viet Nam are tired of war. And if you're going to have a stable government, this government is going to have to give them some hope that the fighting will end, and they will have a peaceful government so they will go on and better themselves.

Q. Isn't it likely that we could get into a war with Red China or Soviet Russia if we stepped up our military effort? Gen. MacArthur, for example, *did not think the Red Chinese would* enter into the Korean War, but they did anyway.

A. Well, I don't believe the Red Chinese—who appear on the verge of civil war—are ready or willing to take on the United States in an all-out war. History has shown that the Red Chinese probably had some sort of assurance that we would not operate directly against China if they did come into the war. There have been a lot of things written about that. Personally, I don't know if they had that assurance or not; I think they must have decided that this was the case before they came in, or they wouldn't have come in.

The situation is different now; we told them after the Korean War that if they came in again, we would choose the place and method of fighting. I think we should let them know that this still stands. We are not going to fight them on their terms this time. I think there is always a chance that they will miscalculate and come in, but it's a chance that we have to take. I don't think the American people want to go on the way we are fighting a war with one of our hands tied behind our back and letting it drag on for years and years. The Communists are willing to do this; life doesn't mean as much to them as it does to us, but it's not in our nature to carry on in this manner. If we have to fight we want to fight and get it over with and I think this is what we should do. Use the power we have to end this war on terms we are willing to accept.

(Continued on next page)

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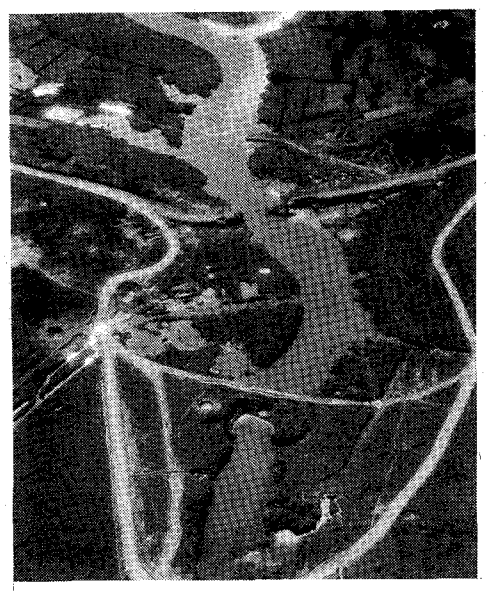
Q. Would you rather risk a war with China now than when they have developed their nuclear capabilities? This is a stand taken by a number of military authorities.

A. China's nuclear program is moving very rapidly. There was another explosion just the other day. So the day will come in the not too distant future when they will have a stockpile of weapons and the ability to deliver them. So naturally, if you have a military confrontation with them then, it's going to be more costly than it would be now. However, I think the time to do something is when you have the problem. We have a problem now and we can't push it off into the future. The only way we can push it off into the future is to continue in the way we are going in South Viet Nam. And I don't think we should do this.

Q. How would you handle Soviet shipping into Haiphong? Might we not risk a confrontation with Soviet Russia?

A. There are many ways of closing the harbor at Haiphong. Our objectives would be to stop supplies from coming in. Blockading is one way, or just simply mining the harbor and letting them come in at their own risk. I don't think this is going to produce a head-on collision with the Soviet Union. But there is always a small risk. You can't fight any war without some risk. We are right in stopping this aggression, and we've got to see that no one succeeds in this aggression . . . that no one is rewarded for aggression, or it's going to break out in many places all over the world. I don't believe that the chance of Russia or China's going to war with us over this question is very high, and I'd be willing to accept the risks.

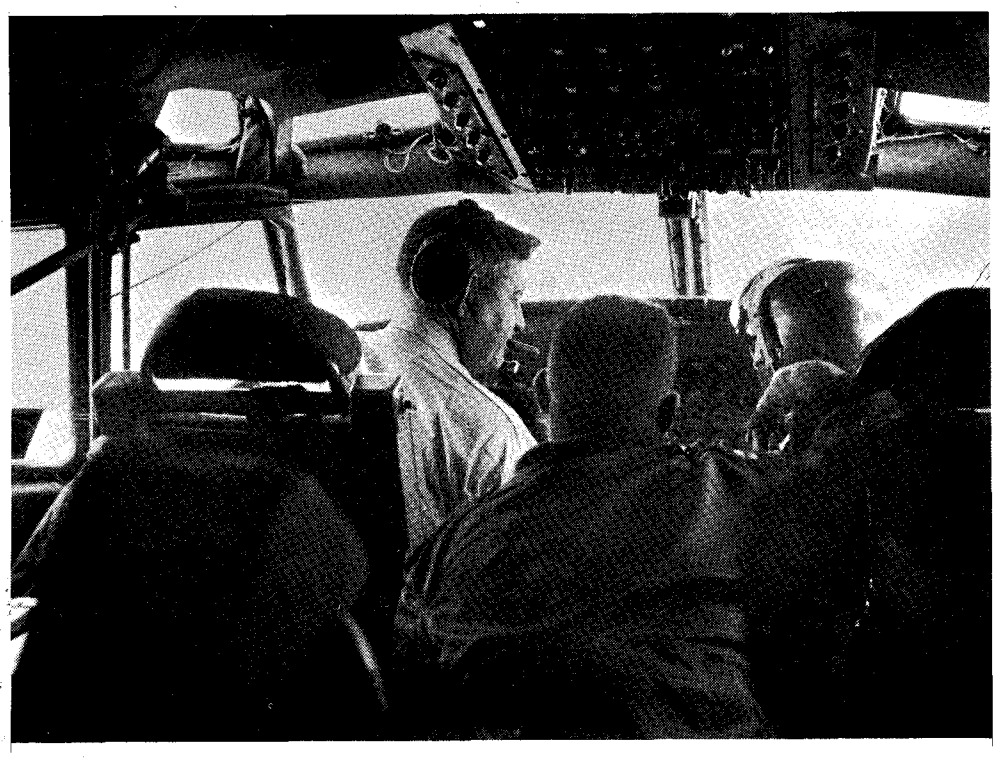


The North Vietnamese simply build stopgap bridges around the ones knocked out by U.S. air power.

Q. Assuming we did follow your policy, what is to prevent the Red Chinese from using the rail and waterways in bringing supplies to the Communists in South Viet Nam? And what about the sanctuaries of Laos and Cambodia?

A. There are two railways running from North Viet Nam into China and these certainly can be effectively taken out. It's a long way for them to carry things on their backs. But with air power these railroads can be blocked very effectively. This has been proven many times in the past. The only method of getting things by waterway is by sea from China, and here again I think you could stop this by blockade and mining the harbors and that would limit any shipments to small junks which transport things over the beach. I think a blockade could be established which would cut this down to a mere trickle.

As to sanctuaries in Cambodia, I think we should carry out hot pursuit. In other words, where we definitely know the enemy's gone across the border we should pursue and destroy it even on Cambodian soil. And if we can identify any large targets that are supporting Communist action in South Viet Nam inside of Cambodia or Laos, I think they should be destroyed. I think we should tell the people concerned about it first, however, and give them a chance to stop it themselves.



Gen. LeMay takes the controls of a KC-135 jet tanker which flew from Westover Air Force Base, Mass., to Buenos Aires, Argentina, in November 1957.

Q. Do you think we should use atomic weapons in Viet Nam? Some military experts apparently feel we could use some low-yield nuclear devices to our advantage.

A. Certainly nuclear devices are more efficient than TNT and they could be used to destroy some targets. However, the world seems to throw up its hands in horror at the use of nuclear weapons even though they might be more efficient. I don't think it's necessary to use them in the Vietnamese situation at the present time. I think the job can be done with TNT. However, if the Chinese decided to come into the action then I certainly would use atomic weapons.

Q. General, why don't we invade Hanoi and just eliminate Ho Chi Minh so that he could not start a similar action at a later date?

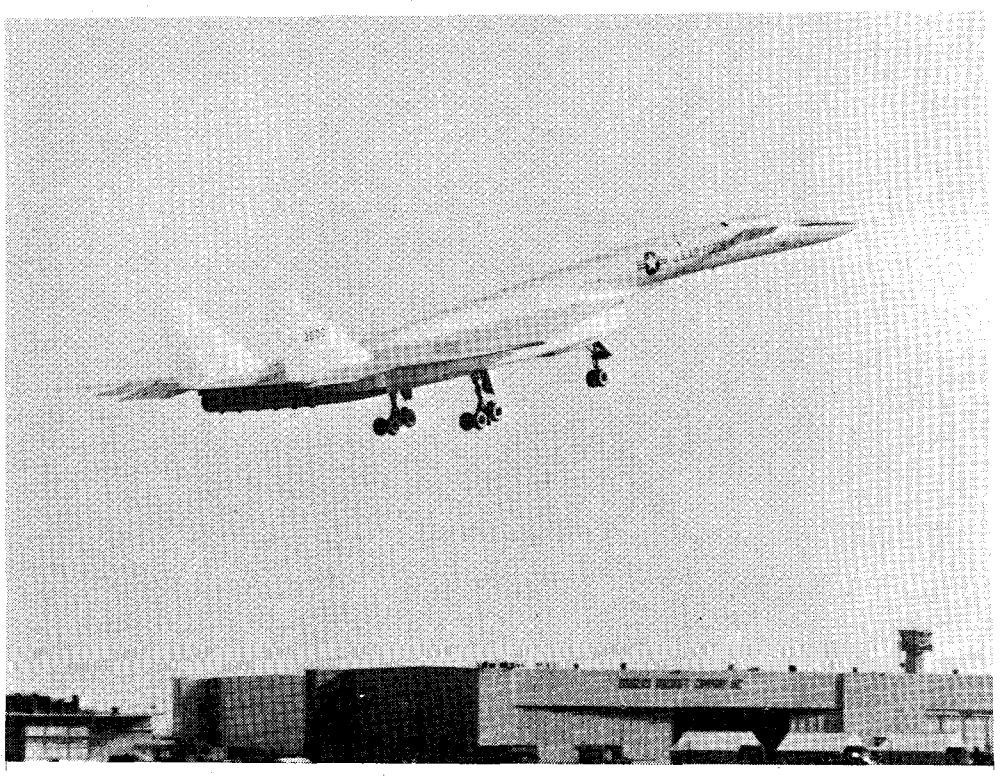
A. Well, this is one way of doing it, but our goal has never been to destroy the North Vietnamese form of government or remove Ho Chi Minh from power. All we want him to do is stop his aggression. I wouldn't advocate an invasion of North Viet Nam because any ground operation is bound to be more costly in life than an attack by air and naval power. I would do it that way, and I think it can be done that way. I would doubt very much that we would have to follow it up with invasion. But I certainly wouldn't do it until we had given them a real good working over with air and naval power which would make invasion easier if you made the decision to do it. I wouldn't rule it out completely. I'd do whatever is necessary to assure us victory in Viet Nam.

Q. Many commentators have criticized the northern bombing and insist it has not hurt the enemy. In spite of the stepped-up bombing, in fact, infiltration into the south has increased to the extent that some 8,000 North Vietnamese cross the 17th parallel a month. Why do you feel that additional bombing will work?

A. So far the bulk of the targets we have hit in Viet Nam have been supply depots where we have been able to identify them and military installations, bridges and transportation systems. I don't think this has hurt the North Vietnamese too much, although it certainly has handicapped their movement of supplies and people into the south. But it hasn't stopped it, and I don't believe you can stop it in this manner. The only way to stop this aggression in the south is to make the North Vietnamese want to stop it. And you make them want to stop it by making it so expensive that they can't afford it any longer. This means attacking a different type of target than we've been hitting in the past.

Knocking out a few bridges, railroads and things of that sort hasn't been expensive enough. They can walk and carry supplies on their backs . . . enough to carry on a guerrilla action in the south. We've got to hit their more expensive targets; in other words, stop everything from coming into the country from outside—completely stop it—and then hit their more expensive targets in the north. Things that really hurt the North Vietnamese. Air power hasn't been given a chance to do what it can in this regard. The targets must be changed.

Q. What restrictions are placed on our pilots when they fly a mission?



The XB-70 takes off on its first flight. LeMay fought at congressional committee hearings to go ahead with the manned bomber concept.

A. I've been out of Washington for two years, and am not up to date on the exact orders that they have been given. They have been restricted to the type of targets they can hit. The targets are approved—as I understand it—every one of them in Washington. They have been limited to these military storage areas, bridges, transportation routes, convoys on roads where they can be found and things of that sort. It's not surprising that pilots feel frustrated when they have to confine their effort to things like this than by hitting the targets I have described which are really more expensive to the North Vietnamese. We've attacked a few missile sites, but only when they have interfered with the target we wanted to hit in the area. Otherwise we haven't hit them much.

Q. Should we hit them?

A. We could. I think they should be taken out.

Q. Assuming the Administration continues much the way it has, could the U.S. suffer another Dien Bien Phu?

A. No, I don't think the U.S. can suffer another Dien Bien Phu, because we have adequate forces in there to prevent such a thing and adequate air power to prevent it. So I'm not worried about this happening. But it seems to me that under our present policy we are not making too much headway. The character of the two people involved is such that we will probably become frustrated with the situation sooner than the Asians would. It may be that unless we win, the people will be disgusted and want to pull out. I think this would be disastrous for us in the long run if we did.

Q. The Administration continues to call for negotiations. But, as you pointed out, there is nothing to negotiate. In 1954 the Communists promised to stay above the 17th parallel, but they violated the agreement before the ink was dry. Assuming they finally agree to negotiate, what can we do to prevent their starting up the war again as soon as American forces leave? As we understand it, President Johnson has said American forces would pull out six months after successful negotiations.

A. We have no assurance, and it wouldn't surprise me to see them fire up the aggression again as soon as we pull out. But they seem satisfied with the situation as it is now. I don't think they are ever going to come to the table under the present situation. We've made all of these overtures to them in the past, giving more and more each time we make a new one, even to the point of promising them a couple billion dollars aid for Southeast Asia if they'd stop the war. So it looks to me as if they think eventually we are going to get tired of this fighting there and pull out—I think this is their goal. You can't see them reasoning that they can win a military victory if we choose to fight. They can't be that foolish. I do believe they feel we'll eventually get tired and pull out.

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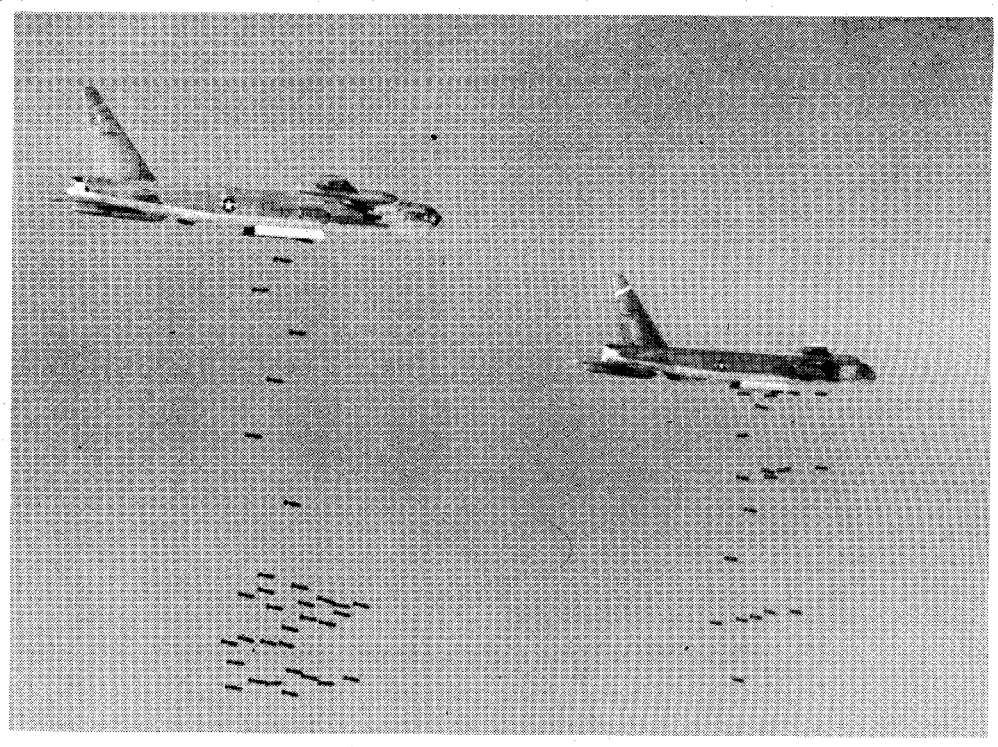
Gen. LeMay accompanies fellow Generals James H. Doolittle of Tokyo raid fame, at top, and Nathan Twining, later USAF chief of staff, as they prepare to board plane taking them to Tokyo after the Japanese surrender.



Giant B-52s pound Viet Cong strongholds. Gen. LeMay says that although the B-52 bombing raids from Guam have been efficient, the types of targets hit could well be expanded to U.S. advantage in the field.

I think if we really go to work on them in a slow-moving but devastating program up north, give them a list of targets you're going to destroy and then really destroy them one after another; tell them you're going to continue on as long as they continue their aggression in the south; I think it will convince them that we really mean business. But as long as we hang on the way we are I think they are going to hold on thinking we'll eventually get tired and leave.

Q. Assuming there are negotiations, wouldn't it be disastrous to pull out all our military men? Shouldn't we at least keep advisors there?

A. Certainly the South Vietnamese are going to need a lot of help, both in the military field and in the governmental and economic fields also. For example, we told the Filipinos, 25 years before we gave them their freedom, that they were going to have it and then we expended every effort to train Filipinos in government so that they would be qualified to take over and administrate the country properly. Even so, they had their problems when they did receive their freedom. They handled them fairly well. I think the training we had given them paid off.

The situation is different in South Viet Nam. As I understand it, the French treated them like a colonial empire. And the South Vietnamese were not trained in governing themselves and they developed no leadership and technical capability in the fields of military or government, so it is not surprising that they are having their problems, and I think they will have problems for some time and require some help. No one can overnight step into a modern world and expect, without training at all, to assume a government position. And it is just going to take time to get these people trained to do this. And I think we will have to help them along this line.

Q. Many Asian experts insist that the real enemy in Viet Nam is the Red Chinese, but isn't it true that the Soviet bloc nations are providing them resources for this war? Which in your opinion is the main enemy?

A. Well, certainly both the USSR and Red China are supporting the North Vietnamese in this aggression. The heavy equipment, like the surface-to-air missile and the MIGs and things of that sort are coming from Russia. Small arms are coming from Red China. As to which is the main enemy, in spite of the differences between China and the Soviet Union at the present time, they are both Communist, and they both have the same goal. Their quarrel is how fast to move and not the goal they are headed for.

So, communism is the main enemy and I wouldn't make any attempt to pick out one enemy and say one is more important than the other in this battle. They are both supplying resources for the fight. But the North Vietnamese are carrying it out. Now undoubtedly there are technicians from both Red China and the Soviet Union in North Viet Nam. I haven't seen intelligence reports for over two years, but I am sure that some of the heavy equipment and probably even some of the conventional anti-aircraft artillery are not operated by the North Vietnamese. They are operated by foreign technicians.

Q. Do you go along with the theory that it is good that the Russians are in Hanoi—that in spite of the fact they are giving supplies to the North Vietnamese, they essentially would like to see the war ended and that they will act as a restraining force?

A. No, I don't believe that. I don't believe that the Soviets want to end the war in North Viet Nam. They could end it anytime they wanted to by simply stopping their support. I think they are very happy for us to expend life and resources in this sort of a fight. And they are going to continue as long as it is profitable for them to do it. It is going to end when it is not profitable for them to do it. Every time we have ever confronted communism with sufficient force, they have always backed off. I think they will back off again in Viet Nam.

Q. General, American boys, not South Vietnamese, are doing the major fighting against the Communists. Gen. Westmoreland recently stated that the South Vietnamese soldiers' primary task will be that of "pacification" of the countryside rather than large-scale involvement with hostile forces. Does this mean that the South Vietnamese are unwilling to shoulder the burden for this war?

A. I don't think it's true that the South Vietnamese are not fighting and that we are doing all the fighting over there. But remember the nature of the war that you are engaged in. There are no front lines and the enemy is everywhere even inside Saigon so that you not only have to search out the enemy and find him and destroy him—when you can find him—but you have to guard the countryside continually.

Now, Gen. Westmoreland has the resources over there to carry out the war. He has American forces and he has Vietnamese forces. It is not surprising that he wants to use the Vietnamese forces more in areas working directly with the people and use the American forces for direct confrontation of the Vietnamese when he can find them. In other words, this is the best use of the resources that he has. Now this doesn't mean that the South Vietnamese aren't doing any fighting. They are doing fighting in the areas they are trying to patrol and keep under government control.

Q. The Administration seems extremely reluctant to use Nationalist Chinese troops in South Viet Nam for fear they will draw the Red Chinese into the war. What is your opinion?

A. I don't believe that the use of Nationalist Chinese troops or not using them is going to be any factor in whether the Red Chinese come in or not. I don't feel that I have all the information necessary to make a decision as to whether the nationalist forces should be used or not. I would say, generally speaking, that other factors being equal, they should be used. In other words, all the Asian people should participate in the battle for their freedom. And this includes the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa as well as the Filipinos who are now participating, so I would be inclined to use them.

Q. Do you think there is any way we can strengthen SEATO, or do we need a new organization?

A. Undoubtedly there are many things that could be done to strengthen SEATO. However, I wouldn't want to form a new organization. I think SEATO is adequate and most of the SEATO countries are now participating. The Filipinos are in the act, so are the New Zealanders and the Australians.

Q. Do you think our soldiers have adequate supplies? Do they have the right weapons in the necessary quantities?

A. Generally speaking, I think they are properly supplied. Undoubtedly there are some local shortages from time to time. I am sure that we had a bomb shortage awhile back, based on my knowledge of the situation when I retired. We did step up the expenditure of conventional bombs and ammunition and I am sure that from time to time there must have been local shortages. However, I am sure they always had something to shoot and something to drop in the way of bombs . . . not necessarily the ones they would have liked, but they always had some. Generally speaking, I think they are pretty well supplied; our supply people do a pretty good job and so the only local shortages are probably due to budget limitations and lead times necessary to start up production lines and so forth.

Q. How well is the B-52 operating and are there any new weapons that you feel should be used?

A. Well, there are many new weapons we could use in this sort of war. We have been concentrating our tremendous research and development effort on such things as space supersonic airplanes; well, not so much airplanes—but in space and missiles, things of this sort. Rather than such mundane things as trying to detect a dozen Viet Cong in an ambush position or something of that sort. I think now we are probably concentrating more of our research effort in this field and it should produce some results before too long. The types of weapons we do have, I think, are pretty good and certainly better than the Viet Cong have.

The B-52 operation out of Guam is very efficient. They are getting a lot of flying time out of their airplanes and they have flexibility to change targets in the air and I think that as far as the actual operation of the airplanes and putting the bombs down where they are called for they are doing very well. My only quarrel is that they are hitting the wrong types of targets.

Q. General, does it make any sense to you for the Administration to step up trade with the Communist nations as long as they continue to supply North Viet Nam with war materiel?

A. This is a little out of my field, and I certainly haven't all the information to make a good judgment on this. However, I am sure I feel the same as many, many other citizens feel that we certainly should not trade with the enemy, and as long as they are helping the North Vietnamese we should not be helping them by trading with them.

Q. Do you feel that the Joint Chiefs of Staff and military personnel by and large support your thesis about the war in Viet Nam and how we should win it?

A. I haven't sat in on a Joint Chiefs meeting for nearly two years now and I don't know in detail what their recommendations have been, but at the time I left we certainly recommended going north and going north in a stronger manner than we have been going in the past months. I would be very much surprised if there were any change in their feelings.

Q. One last question. A number of Republicans have been seeking out a military man to run for President in 1968. According to the papers, Gen. Westmoreland has been approached on this subject. Have you ever thought of running?

A. I have been approached by a number of Republicans in this regard and I have received a great number of letters from civilians on the subject. I have thought about it, although I certainly haven't made any commitments to run for public office, but it seems to me that the world situation being what it is, the trouble in Asia and the problems there and the Middle East about to flare up, perhaps a President with some military background might be helpful.

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Rep.-elect Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) tells his followers to "keep the faith, baby" after the House of Representatives voted 364 to 64 to not seat the Harlem lawmaker.

But Adam, Dreyfus Was Innocent

By MORRIE RYSKIND

There is surely tragi-comedy in the news that Adam Powell, like his illustrious namesake from whom we all stem, has finally been cast out of Eden for his sins and condemned, like the rest of us, to earn his wine and his yachts by the sweat of his brow. No longer will he grace the nightclubs of Paris nor sail the shores of Bimini, from which delightful resorts he so ably carried on his functions as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. He is, alas, a luxury we can no longer afford.

Most of us Walter Mittys, I suspect, have a sneaking admiration for this gay-hearted, picaresque rogue who regarded the world—and Uncle Sam's pocketbook—as his private oyster. Rules and conventions meant nothing to this swashbuckling combination of Elmer Gantry and Robin Hood, who so vigorously preached the Gospel at Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church and, just as vigorously, flouted it everywhere else.

Adam could walk where angels feared to tread. He could praise the Daily Worker **and salute Russia for its efforts "to free the colonial peoples" without dread of being investigated by a Red-baiting congressional committee.**

Though he assailed the GOP as a party which "hates Negroes, democracy and progress," he left the Demos to endorse Eisenhower in 1956. His price, says the scuttlebutt, was that the Internal Revenue Service would not pursue some minor financial dispute that had arisen. At any rate, it is safe to assume that Adam got a pretty good *quid* for his *quo*, that being his *modus operandi*.

But in 1960 the prodigal son returned to the fold and was welcomed with full forgiveness. If you follow TV, you may recall that Madison Square rally at which JFK, besieged by admirers, somewhat impatiently shook them off in an obvious search for someone on the platform. That someone was Adam Clayton, and the two embraced while the Garden rang with cheers.

And in 1961 the city of New York gratefully tendered him a dinner in which then-Mayor Wagner, Arthur Goldberg, Connecticut's Abraham Ribicoff and Hollywood's Sammy Davis vied with each other in paying eloquent tribute to Adam's great service to the Republic.

But at long last the quality of mercy has been overstrained, and Adam has now come to judgment, a judgment in which both major parties concur.

What I find sadder about this than Adam's downfall is the way this judgment has been condemned by so many of his colored brethren as an exercise in race hatred. What makes this ironical is that Rev. Powell has retained his position so long precisely because of his pigmentation—and every politico, white or black, knows that.

I do not mind so much when the spurious charge is made by the untutored who regard Adam as the symbol of their race's successful quest for a place in the sun and think it inconceivable that their hero could do wrong.

Nor do I expect anything else from the racists of the "Black Power" movement, such as Floyd McKissick of CORE, who asserts: "This is not stripping Adam . . . this is political castration of black people."

But I find it intolerable that such literate and eloquent figures as A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins, though conceding Adam's derelicitions, nevertheless say he should not be punished for them. In effect, they stand with the colored preacher who warned that, if anything happened to Powell, blood would flow in American streets.

Small wonder, under such leadership, that a Negro should scream at a meeting of the Education and Labor Committee: "I shall lead 10,000 warriors! We are going to burn this country down! The Mau Maus are going to rise up!"

Facing that threat, the 90th Congress acted as directed by the electorate of 1966—in defense of law and order against organized blackmail. In stripping Powell of his post, they passed the first Civil Rights Bill of 1967 by holding that the law must apply equally to all races, a decision to which every decent citizen, of whatever color, subscribes.

As for Adam, he now pictures himself as another Dreyfus. There is, however, a vast difference, Reverend: Dreyfus was not guilty—and you are.

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Gradual Nationalization

Long's Attack On Drug Industry

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Early this session we can expect Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.), chairman of the Finance Committee, to call for hearings on his own drug bill—one that, in capsule explanation, would nationalize the prescription medicine industry of the U.S.A.

The nationalization would be gradual rather than instantaneous, by indirection rather than by fiat. It would make illnesses less expensive without making cures more sure. It would put a crimp in take-home profits for a sizable industry and would scare the living daylights out of all businesses which have big dealings with, are under regulations by and stand in competition with the federal government.

Sen. Long's bill is an extension of Medicare for the elderly, and it is an extension of Federalia's arm into the states. It provides (a) that federal medical programs cannot purchase prescription drugs by their brand names; and (b) that any state in the Union which accepts federal assistance for the purchase of medicines must buy these medicines by the generic (chemical) name rather than by brand name.

Even before Medicare went into effect, the federal government was contributing around $100 million in drug purchase, one way or another. It is estimated that about 77 per cent of all prescription drugs are purchased as products of the big companies. These are huge figures. They illustrate the magnitude of change which passage of the Long bill would bring about.

The hearings, if well conducted on both sides, will produce a classic battle in ideologies. Chairman Long and his proponents won't have any trouble showing that profits denied to the drug manufacturers will leave money behind. People who buy their own prescription medicines, or federal agencies which do the buying for them, will come out ahead, financially speaking. Generic-name mixes are cheaper than trade-name concoctions.

Whether the cheap medicine is better for patients than the costlier dose is far from certain, for the manufacturers are not all scoundrels and medication-capsuling is a scientific skill. Nor is it certain that drugs will be as plentiful as they are today. Take away the profit, dry up the advertising, and you can guess what will happen to circulation.

Moreover, nobody in America with all his buttons still believes that the bureaucracy can do anything as well as honest enterprise can do. No matter how many millions of dollars in savings the Long bill proponents can estimate on paper, it's as sure as sunrise that Federalia will gum up the works, and that the taxpayer will end up paying more and getting less.

Call it defeatism or fatalism, but the experience of our citizenry is that nothing flops like a federal program.

Opponents of the Long bill will be wise if they concede all the financial arithmetic (a brand pill may cost 20 times that of a generic pill) and do nothing except yell for their liberties. Why shouldn't a patient have the right of "public accommodation" at his pharmacy to buy the products of Parke-Davis, Smith, Kline & French or Upjohn? What's with Congress that it should drive drug investment off the stock exchange? And turn creeping socialism loose in another field?

The ideological conflict does not center on the cost of drugs. If anti-trust laws are enforced, free competition will take care of that. No, the Long bill is another business-buster, another attempt to improve upon nature by setting up administrators to be surrogates for the conscience and the initiative of man.

Ben Franklin wrote the didactic story of how a boy once paid too much for his whistle. But do we need appointive officers to keep us from paying too much for our pills?

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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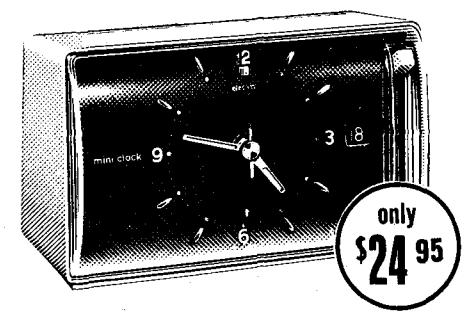

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The Creative Society

'The Path We Chart Is Not an Easy One'

Gov. Ronald Reagan's Inaugural Address, Sacramento, California, Jan. 5, 1967

To a number of us, this is a first and hence a solemn and momentous occasion and yet, on the broad page of state and national history, what is taking place here is almost commonplace routine.

We are participating in the orderly transfer of administrative authority by direction of the people. And this is the simple magic which makes a commonplace routine a near-miracle to many of the world's inhabitants: the continuing fact that the people, by democratic process, can delegate this power, yet retain custody of it.

Perhaps you and I have lived with this miracle too long to be properly appreciative. Freedom is a fragile thing and is never more than one generation away from extinction. It is not ours by inheritance; it must be fought for and defended constantly by each generation, for it comes only once to a people. Those who have known freedom and then lost it have never known it again.

Knowing this, it is hard to explain those who even today would question the people's capacity for self-rule. Will they answer this: if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?

Using the temporary authority granted by the people, an increasing number lately have sought to control the means of production as if this could be done without eventually controlling those who produce. Always this is explained as necessary to the people's welfare. But, "The deterioration of every government begins with the decay of the principle upon which it was founded." This is as true today as it was when it was written in 1748.

Government is the people's business and every man, woman and child becomes a shareholder with the first penny of tax paid.

With all the profound wording of the Constitution, probably the most meaningful words are the first three, "We, the People." Those of us here today who have been elected to constitutional office or legislative position are in that three-word phrase. We are of the people, chosen by them to see that no permanent structure of government ever encroaches on freedom or assumes a power beyond that freely granted by the people. We stand between the taxpayer and the tax spender.

It is inconceivable to me that anyone could accept this delegated authority without asking God's help. I pray that we who legislate and administer will be granted wisdom and strength beyond our own limited power; that with Divine guidance we can avoid easy expedients as we work to build a state where liberty under law and justice can triumph, where compassion can govern and wherein the people can participate and prosper because of their government and not in spite of it.

California's Lt. Gov. Robert Finch has more statutory authority than most No. 2 men in state government.

Gov. Ronald Reagan addresses the people of California at his inauguration.

The path we will chart is not an easy one. It demands much of those chosen to govern, but also from those who did the choosing. And let there be no mistake about this; we have come to a crossroad—a time of decision—and the path we follow turns away from any idea that government and those who serve it are omnipotent.

It is a path impossible to follow unless we have faith in the collective wisdom and genius of the people. Along this path government will lead but not rule, listen but not lecture. It is the path of a Creative Society.

A number of problems were discussed during the campaign and I see no reason to change the subject now. Campaign oratory on the issues of crime, pollution of air and water, conservation, welfare and expanded educational facilities does not mean the issues will go away because the campaign has ended. Problems remain to be solved and they challenge all of us. Government will lead, of course, but the answer must come from all of you.

We will make specific proposals and we will solicit other ideas. In the area of crime, where we have double our proportionate share, we will propose legislation to give back to local communities the right to pass and enforce ordinances which will enable the police to more adequately protect these communities.

Legislation already drafted will be submitted, calling upon the legislature clearly to state in the future whether newly adopted laws are intended to pre-empt the right of local governments to legislate in the same field. Hopefully, this will free judges from having to guess the intent of those who passed the legislation in the first place.

At the same time, I pledge my support and fullest effort to a plan which will remove from politics, once and for all, the appointment of judges . . . not that I believe I'll be overburdened with making judicial appointments in the immediate future [Democratic Gov. Pat Brown, after he was defeated but before he left office, filled 80 vacancies on the bench].

Just as we assume a responsibility to guard our young people up to a certain age from the possible harmful effects of alcohol and tobacco, so do I believe we have a right and a responsibility to protect them from the even more harmful effects of exposure to smut and pornography.

We can and must frame legislation that will accomplish this purpose without endangering freedom of speech and the press.

'Only private industry in the last analysis can provide jobs with a future'

When fiscally feasible, we hope to create a California crime technological foundation utilizing both public and private resources in a major effort to employ the most scientific techniques to control crime. At such a time, we should explore the idea of a state police academy to assure that police from even the smallest communities can have the most advanced training.

We lead the nation in many things; we are going to stop leading in crime. Californians should be able to walk our streets safely day or night. The law-abiding are entitled to at least as much protection as the law-breakers.

While on the subject of crime . . . those with a grievance can seek redress in the courts or legislature, but not in the streets. Lawlessness by the mob, as with the individual, will not be tolerated. We will act firmly and quickly to put down riot or insurrection wherever and whenever the situation requires.

Welfare is another of our major problems. We are a humane and generous people and we accept without reservation our obligation to help the aged, disabled and those unfortunates who, through no fault of their own, must depend on their fellow men.

But we are not going to perpetuate poverty by substituting a permanent dole for a paycheck. There is no humanity or charity in destroying self-reliance, dignity and self-respect . . . the very substance of moral fibre.

We seek reforms that will, wherever possible, change relief check to paycheck. Spencer Williams, administrator of health and welfare, is assessing the amount of work that could be done in public installations by welfare recipients. This is not being done in any punitive sense, but as a beginning step in rehabilitation to give the individual the self-respect that goes with performing a useful service.

But this is not the ultimate answer. Only private industry in the last analysis can provide jobs with a future. Lt. Gov. Robert Finch will be liaison between government and the private sector in an all-out program of job training and education leading to real employment.

A truly great citizen of our state and a fine American, Mr. H.C. McClellan, has agreed to institute a statewide program patterned after the one he directed so successfully in the "curfew area" of Los Angeles. There, in the year and a half since the tragic riots, fully half of the unemployed have been channeled into productive jobs in private industry and more than 2,000 businesses are involved.

Mr. McClellan will be serving without pay and the entire statewide program will be privately financed. While it will be directed at all who lack opportunity, it offers hope especially to those minorities who have a disproportionate share of poverty and unemployment.

In the whole area of welfare, everything will be done to reduce administrative overhead, cut red tape and return control as much as possible to the county level. And the goal will be investment in, and salvage of, human beings.

This administration will cooperate with the state superintendent of education in his expressed desires to return more control of curriculum and selection of textbooks to local school districts. We will support his efforts to make recruitment of out-of-state teachers less difficult.

On the subject of education . . . hundreds of thousands of young men and women will receive an education in our state colleges and universities.

We are proud of our ability to provide this opportunity for our youth and we believe it is no denial of academic freedom to provide this education within a framework of reasonable rules and regulations. Nor is it a violation of individual rights to require obedience to these rules and regulations or to insist that those unwilling to abide by them should get their education elsewhere.

It does not constitute political interference with intellectual freedom for the taxpaying citizens—who support the college and university systems—to ask that, in addition to teaching, they build character on accepted moral and ethical standards.

Just as a man is entitled to a voice in government, so he should certainly

(Continued on next page)

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Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida, left, flew to California to confer with Reagan on crime and education problems.

have that right in the very personal matter of earning a living.

I have always supported the principle of the union shop, even though that includes a certain amount of compulsion with regard to union membership. For that reason it seems to me that government must accept a responsibility for safeguarding each union member's democratic rights within his union. For that reason we will submit legislative proposals to guarantee each union member a secret ballot in his union on policy matters and the use of union dues.

There is also need for a mediation service in labor-management disputes not covered by existing law.

There are improvements to be made in workmen's compensation in death benefits and benefits to the permanently disabled. At the same time, a tightening of procedures is needed to free business from some unjust burdens.

A close liaison with our congressional representatives in Washington, both Democratic and Republican, is needed so that we can help bring about beneficial changes in Social Security, secure less restrictive controls on federal grants and work for a tax retention plan that will keep some of our federal taxes here for our use with no strings attached. We should strive also to get tax credits for our people to help defray the cost of sending their children to college.

We will support a bi-partisan effort to lift the archaic 160-acre limitation imposed by the federal government on irrigated farms. Restrictive labor policies should never again be the cause of crops rotting in the fields for lack of harvesters.

Here in our own Capitol, we will seek solutions to the problems of unrealistic taxes which threaten economic ruin to our biggest industry. We will work with the farmer as we will with business, industry and labor to provide a better business climate so that rulings make this necessary.

This is only a partial accounting of our problems and our dreams for the future. California, with its climate, its resources and its wealth of young, aggressive, talented people, must never take second place. We can provide jobs for all our people who will work and we can have honest government at a price we can afford. Indeed, unless we accomplish this, our problems will go unsolved, our dreams unfulfilled and we will know the taste of ashes.

I have put off until last what is by no means least among our problems. Our fiscal situation has a sorry similarity to the situation of a jet liner out over the North Atlantic, Paris bound.

The pilot announced he had news—some good, some bad—and he would give the bad news first. They had lost radio contact; their compass and altimeter were not working; they didn't know their altitude, direction or where they were headed. Then he gave the good news—they had a 100-mile-an-hour tail wind and they were ahead of schedule.

Our fiscal year began July 1 and will end on the coming June 30—six months from now. The present budget for this 12-month period is $4.6 billion, an all-time high for any of the 50 states. When this budget was presented, it was admittedly in excess of the estimated tax revenues for the year. It was adopted with the assurance that a change in bookkeeping procedures would solve this imbalance.

With half the year gone, and faced now with the job of planning next year's budget, we have an estimate provided by the experienced personnel of the Department of Finance. We have also an explanation of how a change in bookkeeping could seemingly balance a budget that called for spending $400 million more than we would take in.

Very simply, it was just another one-time windfall—a gimmick that solved

'We are not going to perpetuate poverty by substituting a permanent dole for a paycheck'

they may prosper and we all may prosper.

There are other problems and possible problems facing us. One such is now pending before the United States Supreme Court. I believe it would be inappropriate to discuss that matter now, but we will be prepared with remedial legislation we devoutly hope will be satisfactory to all of our citizens if court

nothing but only postponed the day of reckoning. We are financing the 12-month spending with 15-month income. All the tax revenues for the first quarter of next year—July, August and September—will be used to finance this year's expenses up to June 30. And incidentally, even that isn't enough, because we will still have a deficit of some $63 million.

'We are going to squeeze and cut and trim until we reduce the cost of government'

Now, with the budget established at its present level, we are told that it, of course, must be increased next year to meet the added problems of population growth and inflation. But the magic of the changed bookkeeping is all used up. We are back to only 12 months' income for 12 months' spending.

Almost automatically we are being advised of all the new and increased taxes which, if adopted, will solve the problem. Curiously enough, another one-time windfall is being urged.

If we switch to withholding of personal income tax, we will collect two years' taxes the first year and postpone our moment of truth perhaps until everyone forgets we did not cause the problem—we only inherited it. Or maybe we are to stall, hoping a rich uncle will remember us in his will.

If we accept the present budget as absolutely necessary and add on projected increases plus funding for property tax relief (which I believe is absolutely essential and for which we are preparing a detailed and comprehensive program), our deficit in the coming year would reach three-quarters of a billion dollars.

But Californians are already burdened with combined state and local taxes $113 per capita higher than the national average. Our property tax contributes to a slump in the real estate and building trades industries and makes it well nigh impossible for many citizens to continue owning their own homes.

For many years now, you and I have been shushed like children and told there are no simple answers to the complex problems which are beyond our comprehension.

Well, the truth is, there are simple answers—there just are not easy ones. The time has come for us to decide whether collectively we can afford everything and anything we think of simply because we think of it. The time has come to run a check to see if all the services government provides were in answer to demands or were just goodies dreamed up for our supposed betterment.

The time has come to match outgo to income, instead of always doing it the other way around.

The cost of California's government is too high; it adversely affects our business climate. We have a phenomenal growth with hundreds of thousands of people joining us each year. Of course the over-all cost of government must go up to provide necessary services for these newcomers, but growth should mean increased prosperity and thus a lightening of the load each individual must bear. If this isn't true, then you and I should be planning how we can put up a fence along the Colorado River and seal our borders.

Well, we aren't going to do that. We are going to squeeze and cut and trim until we reduce the cost of government. It won't be easy, nor will it be pleasant, and it will involve every department of government, starting with the governor's office. I have already informed the legislature of the reorganization we hope to effect with their help in the executive branch and I have asked for their cooperation and support.

The new director of finance is in complete agreement that we turn to additional sources of revenue only if it becomes clear that economies alone cannot balance the budget.

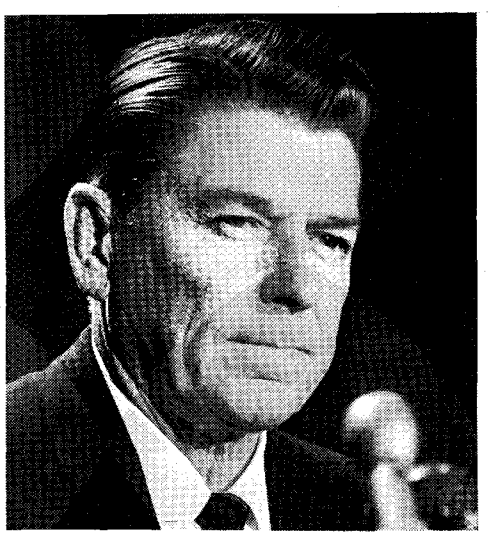
Disraeli said: "Man is not a creature of circumstances. Circumstances are the creatures of men." You and I will shape our circumstances to fit our needs.

Let me reaffirm a promise made during the months of campaigning. I believe in your right to know all the facts concerning the people's business. Independent firms are making an audit of state finances. When it is completed, you will have that audit. You will have all the information you need to make the decisions which must be made.

This is not just a problem for the administration; it is a problem for all of us to solve together. I know that you can face any prospect and do anything that has to be done as long as you know the truth of what you are up against.

We will put our fiscal house in order. And as we do, we will build those things we need to make our state a better place in which to live and we will enjoy them more, knowing we can afford them and they are paid for.

If, in glancing aloft, some of you were puzzled by the small size of our



Gov. Reagan has recommended an across-the-board 10 per cent reduction in state expenditures.

state flag . . . there is an explanation. That flag was carried into battle in Viet Nam by young men of California. Many will not be coming home. One did, Sgt. Robert Howell, grievously wounded. He brought that flag back. I thought we would be proud to have it fly over the Capitol today. It might even serve to put our problems in better perspective. It might remind us of the need to give our sons and daughters a cause to believe in and banners to follow.

If this is a dream, it is a good dream, worthy of our generation and worth passing on to the next.

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Romney Gives Conflicting Views on Viet Nam

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

Soon after the November elections, in which Gov. George Romney won a landslide victory in Michigan, he was asked if he would like to be President. He replied: "I haven't decided that."

When a potential GOP presidential candidate hems and haws on a simple issue concerning what every red-blooded American boy is supposed to aspire to, it is silly to expect that, on a complex issue like the Viet Nam war, he would have a firm opinion.

Yet the Michigan governor has turned out to be a compulsive talker, on and off the record, about Viet Nam policy. He opened his mouth on a not-for-attribution basis on this politically hazardous subject to a selected group of Washington correspondents the weekend of January 15. What came out, when placed end to end with what Romney has said previously, was most revealing, for it shows he is trying out various balancing positions for size—political, that is.

What Romney is saying today conflicts in a most embarrassing way with what he has said in the past, even if he is clearly unaware that this is so.

Consider his present opinions on Viet Nam war policy, as relayed from the scene by the respected Washington correspondent of the Detroit *News*, J. F. Ter Horst. First, the Administration "may be putting too much emphasis on aerial bombing in North Viet Nam."

What did Romney say on the bombing issue last June in a nationally televised interview? It was this: "I think it is ridiculous to be sending our bombers to bomb individual trucks carrying gasoline from North Viet Nam down to South Viet Nam when we ignore the fact that 65 per cent of the petroleum oil and lubrication products used by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese military are located in a half-mile area of the port of Haiphong."

Ter Horst also reported that Romney "is known to be weighing" certain opinions, including this one:

"The Johnson Administration has an ambivalent policy, alternating its emphasis between military escalation one day and peace negotiations the next."

This is the same George Romney who displayed his own ambivalence when the Detroit *News*, on July 29, 1965, carried a headline "Romney Backs Viet Policy" and the very next day a headline "Governor Criticizes U.S. Policy."

Other correspondents, privy like Ter Horst to Romney's January thought processes on Viet Nam, reported (1) he hadn't made up his mind whether he favored escalation or negotiation as the better way to end the war; and (2) he didn't intend to be as "hawkish" as Richard M. Nixon, but somewhere in between, where he could not be labeled either a hawk or a dove.

Perhaps the most revealing tidbit on Romney's present thinking about the Administration's foreign policy in general has been supplied by David Broder of the Washington *Post*.

"Those who have heard Romney expound on the subject say his emphasis on a conceptual unity for foreign policy rests on his experience in the automobile industry," writes Broder, although the phrases smack of Romney's predilection for words like "conceptual."

"The sales success of the Rambler car," continues Broder's analysis, "in Romney's view, rested on his development of the concept of the compact car. The decline of American Motors since he left its management in 1961 is attributable, in his view, to his successors' failure to pursue the unified conceptual approach."

The "unified conceptual approach" has the exhilarating ring of a typical Romney campaign slogan. It proposes, in the vernacular of the automotive industry, a compact foreign policy with all the safety features as standard equipment.

But his inability to say "no comment" when queried about global issues has boxed him in in a serious political way, and the National Democratic Committee has taken sharp advantage of this.

The committee's official publication, the *Democrat*, in its latest issue, under the three-column head "Would You Believe Romney on Viet Nam?" quotes chapter and verse from past Romney statements in a convincing effort to show that he "changes his views on Viet Nam with approximately the same frequency he changes his shirts."

Romney clearly needs a big-time political handler to run his national campaign. Someone like Len Hall of New York. There is still a sound position for Romney to fall back on—all he has to say is what he said just after the November election: The Viet Nam war "is the most far-reaching, complex and meaningful problem facing the nation."

On that basis, he was not taking "a specific position" or making any "specific proposals" until he makes another trip to Southeast Asia this spring.

In a lacing that Romney gave to the press at Lansing, Mich., recently, he referred to "political anthropologists . . . who can take a jawbone and build a skeleton." He should know by now that by jawing, when he should have kept his mouth shut, he supplied the jawbone.

No Need for a Tax Rise

By HENRY HAZLITT

Most of the economic proposals in the President's State of the Union message were unsound, and several were in direct conflict.

The proposed tax increase could be justified only on the assumption that all of the proposed expenditures of $135 billion for the next fiscal year (plus some $40 billion more of trust fund expenditures) are necessary and unpostponable. Does anybody really believe they are?

The increased taxes are being urged on the argument that they are necessary to pay for the increased cost of the war in Viet Nam. But of the $175 billion of cash expenditures planned for the fiscal year 1968, the greater part, some $100 billion, are for non-defense purposes.

Mr. Johnson's tax increase proposals, it is estimated, would bring in $4.5 billion in the first year. Now total non-defense cash expenditures in the last Eisenhower fiscal year, 1961, were $52 billion. It is these that will have increased $50 billion by 1968, compared with an increase in the same period of only $25 billion in defense expenditures, including Viet Nam. Could not the $4.5 billion—less than 10 per cent—be cut out of this $50-billion non-defense increase?

As a matter of fact, Mr. Johnson is proposing a sudden increase averaging 20 per cent in Social Security payments. This alone would increase yearly expenditures about $4.1 billion. The added revenues from the increased taxes, assuming they were realized, would just about pay for this additional spending.

So almost the same fiscal result as the President envisages could be realized if Congress simply refrained both from the tax increase and the Social Security increase.

But if Congress cannot forego the Social Security boost, there are plenty of other programs—foreign aid, farm subsidies, space, demonstration cities—from which a total of more than $5.7 billion a year could easily be cut.

A tax increase at this time would be as unwise as it is unnecessary. An increased tax on corporations is especially questionable. Instead, the 7 per cent investment tax credit ought to be restored to encourage real economic growth and a bigger taxpaying base.

In sum, there is nothing that a tax increase could achieve at this time that could not be much more effectively, simply and promptly achieved by an equal or greater slash in non-defense expenditures.

Many confused arguments are being put forward in favor of a tax increase. One is that we must impose "sacrifices" on our people at home to match those of our soldiers in Viet Nam. But to advocate "sacrifices" for their own sake is merely a form of masochism. It would not help our fighting men to enact measures that were economically harmful.

It is also being argued that a tax increase would at least be better than a giant budget deficit. This argument poses a false alternative. It makes the tacit assumption that the huge expenditures that are causing the deficit are all necessary and should not be cut.

But the President in making his tax increase proposal not only said nothing about reducing the huge hodgepodge of domestic programs, but he proposed to increase and extend them as well as to make an astonishingly big increase in Social Security payments.

This was not the only inconsistency in the President's message. While proposing a tax increase to prevent inflation, he promises to do everything he can to lower interest rates. But interest rates can be lowered only by increasing the money supply.

This can only mean more inflation and less confidence in the dollar.

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Labor's Plans for Congress: More of the Same

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

In Youngstown, Ohio, during the week of December 25, 20 members of Local 47, Building Service and Maintenance Union, called a strike against the Cafaro Memorial Hospital. Though these employes represented less than a fifth of the hospital's non-professional staff, they threw a picket line around the building. Intimidated food suppliers refused to deliver food and oxygen for the patients. In short, this tiny minority of the professional and non-professional staff was able to put the lives of sick people in jeopardy—all in the name of strong-arm unionism.

Such actions are fairly common in the labor movement. In this way, the once socially responsible trade union movement has been able to enforce its demands on the government and the public.

During the 89th Congress, however, labor lobbying failed to win for the AFL-CIO and its dependencies the legislation with which it hoped to increase its stranglehold on American life. There were threats then from the leadership that those who voted to prevent compulsory unionism—and other pet projects of the AFL-CIO—would suffer at the polls. When, in fact, labor stubbed its toe at the polls, there were predictions that President George Meany, Vice President Walter Reuther and the other union moguls would lie low until after the 1968 election.

But the intervening weeks have convinced labor's top management that the public and the Congress have short memories. The lessons of November have been brushed aside. Behind closed doors, the decision was made to resume the battle for restrictive laws that will strengthen the hand of the AFL-CIO and make it increasingly difficult for free and equitable collective bargaining to continue in this country.

As a result of top-level meetings, the AFL-CIO will return to the offensive. It will try once more to bamboozle House and Senate to repeal Section 14b of the Taft Hartley Act. This is the provision that allows the states to enact laws prohibiting compulsory unionism. The labor movement has thrived under 14b, no matter what the handouts say, but if it is repealed, then the unions will have excessive power over every man, woman and child when he or she is employed.

While labor readies its legislative assault, the right-to-work forces have not been idle. On page 4 is a discussion of the four major bills that the National Right to Work Committee will press for in the 90th Congress.

Repeal of 14b, however, is just part of the story. The AFL-CIO will try once more to push through a bill to permit common situs picketing and secondary boycotts. The man most hurt by this, should labor succeed, is what used to be called the "working stiff," the rank-and-file member who will have to stay off a multi-union construction job if a handful of plumbers are mad at their boss. Management will be hurt, too, and the number of days lost by strikes will increase sharply, but the union member will suffer the most. The construction unions, however, will be that much more powerful.

In the past session of Congress the AFL-CIO tried to twist enough arms to take unemployment compensation out of the hands of the state governments and to give the federal bureaucracy dominance. The effort failed because House and Senate passed different bills which they could not bring into line with each other. Now the AFL-CIO hopes it can succeed in the months to come.

Also on labor's "must" list is a bill for double time for overtime. This will bring more members into the unions, but will cut down on the take-home pay of the rank-and-file member. This legislation, dear to the heart of Walter Reuther, could not muster enough votes in 1966. But the Congress instructed the secretary of labor to study the subject and to report before July 1, 1967.

Between labor's demands and the will of the voter, however, there is a large gap. The House of Representatives does not intend to leap that gap blindfolded. And there will be counter-pressures for a new law to make it impossible for the unions to tie up the nation by strikes that create national emergencies. This is a touchy matter which some will shy away from. Much more sensible is the rising demand among legislators and economists for a thorough study and revision of the confused and unwieldly labor statutes.

The present labor statutes are a thing of shreds and patches, held together by the thread of national need and national pressure. A unified basic law should be written by Congress, and this is the year in which to do it. The AFL-CIO will oppose this, if only because it can slip in and out of the loopholes in our present statutes. The responsibility lies with the Congress and the new crop of House members may have the courage to take steps in this direction.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO's lobbyists have begun making the rounds on Capitol Hill, hoping once more to convince Congress that any freedom from labor compulsion it shows will mean bad news at the polls. It will take some powerful arguments to achieve this.

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Strikers picket in front of the Cafaro Hospital in Youngstown, Ohio.

India's Problem: Government by Philosophers

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

On New Year's Day in the village of Vrindaban, not far from New Delhi, life flickered out of a Hindu holy man, one Mehr Chand Pahuja. He had fasted for nearly 50 days in protest to the killing of cows. The Indian government tried to keep the death a secret lest it trigger renewed rioting.

When Plato suggested that a government of philosophers might be the best government of all, he had never seen the Indians. For India has it. Practically all Indians who are not idiots are philosophers. In no other country in the world do the people think so much about man, his soul and his quest for the good life. And in no other country do they come up with such impossible answers.

Generally, Indians regard Westerners as people of low spirituality. It is hard to travel far through India without getting The Lecture. Often it is delivered graciously and even with a bit of humor, but the lesson is plain. The Indian may be poor in goods, but he is rich in spirit. With most of the world—and particularly the U.S.A.—the reverse is true.

Therefore, it is not altogether unfitting that the materially wealthy but ethically starved Americans give up some of their substance in return for excellent advice from the materially poor but ethically endowed Indians.

The trouble is that even the Americans are about to run through their wheat surplus. Just as the Indian population officially crossed the 500-million mark this fall, Washington issued the bad news that grants of American grains or "sales" of it for blocked currency will have to be sharply cut in the future. The day is approaching when India will (1) have to produce its own food; or (2) manufacture goods that will produce the exchange necessary to buy food; or (3) starve.

It would be a libel to say that the Indian government and even the corruption-ridden Congress party do not have a pretty clear picture of these grim alternatives. But it is questionable whether they can organize the Indian people for any degree of success.

Unlike the pragmatic Japanese, who are willing to junk any traditional belief that has apparently been proved wrong or that interferes with efficiency, the Indians will cling to the impossible and worship the fantastic.

The castes are rooted in antiquity, perhaps stemming from totem pole places assigned by each successive wave of invaders. The enlightened Indian Constitution has outlawed them. But mind patterns are deep. Only a few years ago it was solemnly believed that, while a Nayar would not defile a Brahmin unless he touched him, a Tiyan would pollute the Brahmin if he came within 36 paces of him, and a Pulayan would pollute him at 96 paces.

Happily, in this day of trains, trams and movie palaces, it is hard to keep your paces. The caste system is certainly weakened. But it is still there, particularly in rural India where 82 per cent of the population lives. Under the doctrine of *karma,* which teaches that any apparently undeserved good or bad fortune is a reward or punishment for behavior in previous incarnations, there is a great social stagnation.

For a country that sets itself up as a moral arbiter and lectures Americans incessantly about their bigotry and warmongering, India is full of peculiar contradictions. About 500,000 people were killed in the religious commotions upon the separation of Pakistan. Bloody language riots keep bursting out in the Indian cities.

The Indians are still beating the dead horse of "colonialism," meaning European colonialism, which galled them for four centuries. When the British and French tried to move against the Suez, the New Delhi government reacted immediately, but when Russia crushed the Hungarian revolt the same government couldn't think of anything to say for days. It had never experienced Russian colonialism.

"Self-determination" of peoples stands at the top of Indian foreign policy. Yet when the 75 per cent Moslem population of Kashmir wanted to join Pakistan, the Indian armies rushed in.

The Indians come honestly by their confusion of thought. As the Jains say, "Every proposition gives us only a perhaps, a may. We cannot affirm or deny anything absolutely, owing to the complexity of things."

This aversion to cocksureness has some virtues. But you can't get much movement forward unless, like Luther, you say, "Here I stand."

The delicate and utterly bewildering complexities of Indian philosophical thought are a luxury which India, in its growing crisis, can hardly afford.

In the ancient *Rigveda* the question was raised: "Of the two—night and day—which is the earlier and which the later?"

Indians spend hours brilliantly discussing such things. But as the hungry children and the dry sacred cows munch, that may be too much time.

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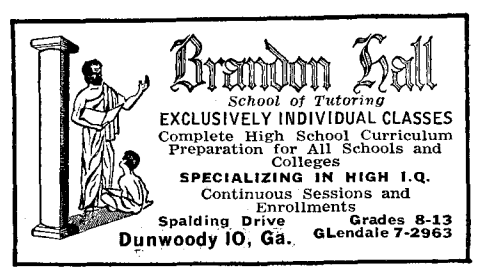

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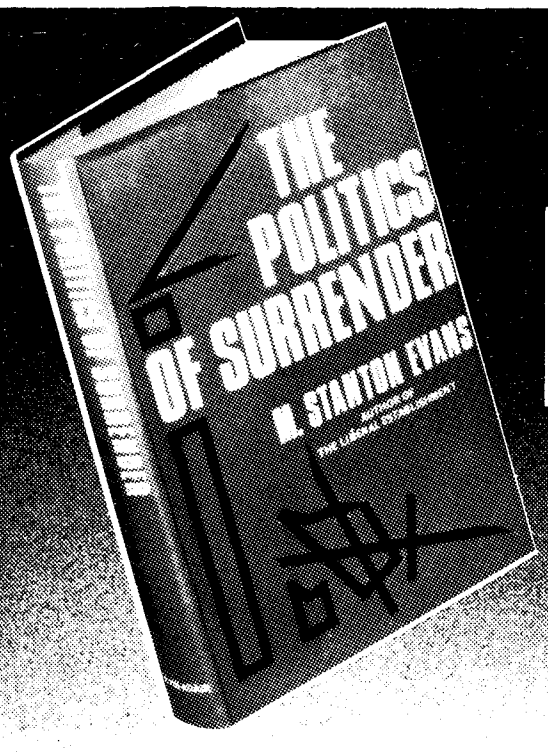

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—M.Stanton Evans

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